HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

CALENDAR

OF THE

MANUSCRIPTS

OF THE

MARQUIS OF BATH

PRESERVED AT

LONGLEAT, WILTSHIRE.

Vol. I.

Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty.

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INTRODUCTION.

The Papers from which the present volume is compiled are a fragment of the Portland collection which was transferred to Longleat in consequence of the marriage in 1759 of Thomas Thynne, third Viscount Weymouth (created in 1789 Marquis of Bath) with Lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter of William Bentinck, second Duke of Portland, by Lady Margaret Cavendish, only daughter of Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford. Partly inherited, partly acquired by correspondence and otherwise, by the second Duchess of Portland, they are of miscellaneous character and very unequal value. The more important are described with more particularity than is here necessary in the Third Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, Appendix, pp. 193-194. They are now arranged as follows:—

Vol. i-ii. Select Autograph Letters, etc., 1516 to the middle of the 18th century.

,, iii. Autograph Letters of Queen Anne, 1704-13.

,, iv-viii. Correspondence on affairs of State subsequent to the Restoration, and chiefly of the reign of Queen Anne.

,, ix. Miscellaneous Papers relating to Trade, Revenue, the Colonies, etc., 1628-1729.

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,, xi. Political Pieces in Prose and Verse, 1589-1769.

,, xii. Letters of Alexander Pope to Edward, second Earl of Oxford, 1721-39 (already in print).

,, xiii. *Jeux d'esprit* between the Scriblerus Club and Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford. Transcripts of Letters of Swift, Wycherly and Atterbury (for the most part already in print).

,, xiv. Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1712-84.

,, xv. Letters of Edward Young, author of *Night Thoughts*, to the second Duchess of Portland, 1740-65.

Vol. xvi. Letters of Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu to the same, 1740-85, mostly contained in the printed collections: also Letters of Mrs. Pendarves, afterwards Delany, and others to Harbin, 1738-44.

,, xvii-xxi. Scrap-books.

,, xxii. Catalogue of Pictures, Gems, MSS., etc. belonging to the second Duchess of Portland in 1784.

,, xxiii. Papers relating to the sieges of Brampton Bryan and Hopton Castles.

,, xxiv. Parentela et Parentalia Hollesiorum. Auctore Gervasio Hollesio, 1658; printed in Arthur Collins' *Historical Collections of the Noble Families of Cavendishe, Holles, Vere, Harley and Ogle*, etc., 1752, fol.

The collection also comprises divers common-place books and note-books of which sufficient use was made by the second Earl of Hardwicke in his *Walpoliana*, 1783.

The Brampton Bryan Papers serve to supplement the *Letters of Lady Brilliana Harley*, edited for the Camden Society by T. T. Lewis in 1854, and afford a clear and connected account of her gallant defence of Brampton Castle from its investment, 26 July, 1643, until its relief by Essex, her death early in the following September, and the second siege of the Castle during the winter and spring, the surprise by a party from Brampton (Feb., 1644) of Hopton Castle, the reduction of the latter place and the cold-blooded massacre of its garrison (March), and the subsequent reduction of Brampton Castle. These transactions were certainly of no great importance, the forces engaged being on both sides inconsiderable, and the losses, apart from the massacre, insignificant—indeed, the Brampton garrison would seem to have been almost as much distressed by the "rotten language" of the Cavaliers as by their "poisoned bullets," and from first to last lost only four men, notwithstanding that they had defended a breach for some days, before, despairing of relief, they surrendered (17 Ap., 1644). The Cavaliers are said to have lost five hundred and fifty men in the three sieges, but this figure cannot be accepted without reserve, the details of the three narratives being such as hardly accord with sober history. The defenders throughout

appear as mighty men of valour, who, when they come to close quarters with the enemy, do deadly execution upon them or strike them with "panic fear," while the besiegers have little stomach save for plundering. The correspondence, however, shows pretty plainly that the slackness with which the first siege was prosecuted arose mainly from reluctance to press "the honourable and valiant lady" hard. These papers, however, will doubtless prove a welcome addition to the particular history of a struggle, the interest in which is apparently inexhaustible. The papers relating to the latter half of the seventeenth century are disappointing, even the letters of Burnet shedding very little light upon public affairs.

On the other hand the papers of Queen Anne's reign are of capital importance in regard of the inner political history of the time. They enable us to trace the course of Harley's estrangement from the Whigs from its very beginning to the final rupture. For rather more than a year after his appointment to the Secretary's office all goes smoothly enough, but from the tone of his draft letter to Godolphin of 21 July, 1705, it is evident that he had already incurred the Treasurer's suspicion, and was hard put to it to find language equal to allaying it. The numerous alterations in the draft show the extreme care with which it was studied. But the artist forgot *celare artem*, the humility is abject, the adulation laid on with a trowel; and such expressions as "I cannot allow a thought disagreeable to you," "have no other views, no other passions, than to be subservient to your Lordship," "know my own heart, and I can die a martyr for what I have written," must have been apt rather to excite than to allay suspicion in a statesman of Godolphin's shrewdness and experience. In a letter of 4 Sept. following we find the first hint of the expediency of broadening the basis of the administration. "I take it for granted that no party in the House can carry it for themselves without the Queen's servants join with them; that the foundation is, persons or parties are to come in to the Queen, and not the Queen to them . . . . If the gentlemen of England are made sensible that the Queen is the Head, and not a party, everything will be easy, and the Queen will be courted and not a party: but if otherwise" ———.

Nor did the appointment of Cowper, one of the staunchest of Whigs, to the Lord Keeper's place deter Harley from pressing his

project of a broad bottom administration upon Godolphin with more urgency and at greater length in the following year. On 15 Oct., 1706, he writes that "many of the most staunch Whigs (not whimsical) have, and do frequently lament the fury of their leaders, and have rejoiced when their presumption was humbled, and, to use an expression of one of them, that, if they were gratified in all they desire, they would immediately be undone. I am very far from making them jealous. I did not mean that places should be given to others, and I was humbly of opinion that whoever would come in as a volunteer to the service should be accepted as far as he would go, and I am the more confirmed in this opinion because those who call themselves Whigs, if united, are the inferior number, and that they will not follow those who make themselves their leaders, but yet may be united in the Queen's service by her ministers . . . . I have with grief observed that the leaders (or zealots rather) of both parties are frequent even now in their reflections on the Queen's ministers, I mean your Lordship and my Lord Marlborough. I cannot but apprehend danger from both sides in the extreme, and therefore I am humbly of opinion to increase the number of those who would devote themselves to the Queen's and your service would be best."

The appointment (3 Dec.) of Sunderland as secretary in succession to Sir Charles Hedges further strengthened the Whig interest; and thenceforth Harley's letters, though written in much the same sense, are more circumspect in tone, and betray a certain uneasiness as of a man conscious that he was regarded with suspicion. "I am very sensible," he writes on 2 Sept., 1707, "of the difficulties which for one reason and for another are like to attend public affairs next winter; it would be very impertinent in me to trouble your Lordship with my poor thought of the true occasions of them; I am sanguine enough to think I see beyond them, but that is not my business;" and eight days later he assumes an apologetic tone, protesting that he has "no attachment to any other person in the world but" Godolphin and Marlborough; and hinting that he has been misrepresented by "a sort of people who wound those they do not like in the dark." At the same time he dreads "the thoughts of running from the extreme of one faction to another, which is the natural consequence of party tyranny, and renders the government like a door which turns both ways upon its hinges to let in

each party as it grows triumphant," adding, "and in truth this is the real parent and nurse of our factions here." In two subsequent letters, 17 Sept. to Godolphin, 16 Oct. to Marlborough, he returns to the alleged misrepresentations. Then followed the discovery of the treasonable correspondence that had passed through his office, and though the examination of his clerk, William Greg, failed to establish Harley's complicity, Godolphin evidently deemed it morally certain, for at the close of the examination he sent Harley word by Attorney-General Harcourt that he was disgraced, a step which in such circumstances admits of no other interpretation, and to Harley's letter protesting his innocence (30 Jan., 1707-8) he returned only the curt answer:—"I have received your letter, and am very sorry for what has happened to lose the good opinion I had so much inclination to have of you, but I cannot help seeing and hearing, nor believing my senses. I am very far from having deserved it from you. God forgive you."

On what passed between this date and Harley's resignation (9 Feb.) the papers shed no light; nor do they add much to our knowledge of the means by which the subsequent victory was organised, while they are entirely silent as to the events which led to his second fall. Swift's attempt to vindicate him from the imputation of cunning (p. 227 *infra*) is only interesting by its perversity.

In regard to matters external the most voluminous correspondence is that which relates to the expedition, to the command of which, by Marlborough's advice, Lord Rivers was appointed. At first (21 July, 1706) designed against France, it was eventually despatched to Spain for the reduction of Seville and Cadiz, and sailed in the autumn under convoy of Sir Clowdisley Shovell. Rivers had been assured that he was not to serve under Peterborough, and had taken this to mean that he was to have an independent command. When therefore, soon after his arrival at Lisbon, he received instructions which subordinated him to Lord Galway, and entirely changed the objective of the expedition, he took umbrage and devoted his main energies to the composition of despatches in disparagement of Galway, accusing him of complicity with John Methuen in treasonable intrigues, and insinuating that he was now associated with Paul Methuen in similar practices (pp. 125, 146-150, 155 *infra*). These imputations were discredited by the Ministry, by whom he

was nevertheless treated with the utmost consideration (pp. 160-1 *infra*). The objective being Valencia, the expedition proceeded in the winter to Alicante, whence Rivers wrote to Halifax severely censuring Galway's recent strategy and asking to be relieved of his command. Rivers afterwards met Galway and Stanhope at Valencia, but no understanding was arrived at, and in March Rivers threw up his command and sailed for England. The tidings of the disastrous defeat in the plain of Almanza followed hard on his return. (See the letter of his friend General Thomas Erle, pp. 169-170 *infra*.)

Among minor matters may be mentioned the letter of Captain John Ogilvie (p. 187 *infra*) to Harley relative to the intrigues of the Jacobites in Scotland in 1707; that of St. John to Harley, dated 11 Oct., 1708, in which he expresses himself as "fully convinced" that "there is no hope but in the Church of England party, nor in that neither on the foot it now stands and without more confidence than is yet re-established between them and us," and suggests the expediency of "gaining Bromley" (the future Speaker) "entirely;" and those of the Duke of Shrewsbury to Harley, Sept.–Dec., 1709, 1709-10 and July–Nov., 1710. The replacement of the Marquis of Kent by Shrewsbury as Lord Chamberlain (14 April, 1710) was the first sign which the Queen gave of her intention to change her advisers. It was followed by the appointment of Dartmouth as secretary for the Southern department in place of the Earl of Sunderland, and the transfer of the seals of the Northern department from Boyle to St. John (21 Sept.). In the meantime Shrewsbury, as appears from the letter of 22 July, 1710, had been offered the place of first Commissioner of the Treasury, but had pleaded incompetence: upon which it was given to Earl Poulett, with whom Harley was associated as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The letter of 20 October, 1710, is peculiarly interesting for the evidence it affords that the Queen did not believe in Divine right. From that of 25 April, 1711, it appears that there was then some suspicion of a plot to assassinate the Queen; but this was probably a mere *canard* occasioned by the recent attempt on Harley's life. The paper referred to in the endorsement and subsequent letters was apparently Torcy's project of peace. (*Cf.* the letter of Petkum to Marlborough, dated 17 Jan., 1711, in Hist. MSS. Comm. Fourteenth Report, Appendix, pt. ix. 355.)

The Countess of Marlborough, whose piteous letter is printed on p. 204 *infra*, was the widow of William Ley, the fourth and last earl. The family had suffered during the civil war. The very interesting correspondence between Oxford and Marlborough during the summer and autumn of 1711 shows that the completion of Blenheim was the price of the apparent withdrawal of the Duke's opposition to the peace (pp. 203-209 *infra*). Nevertheless it is clear from a letter of the Queen to Oxford, which is probably of later date, that she was by that time convinced that Marlborough was playing a double game (pp. 212-13 *infra*), though it was not until the close of the year that he was dismissed. The course of the peace negotiations is illustrated, though none too fully, by other letters, chiefly from the Queen and Shrewsbury to Oxford. The Queen's letters abundantly evince the ascendency which Oxford had over her, and the almost tender solicitude which she felt for his health (pp. 213-15 *infra*). From her letter of 19 Nov., 1711, it would seem that it was from her that the main objection to the proposed appointment of Prior as plenipotentiary came, and that it was grounded on nothing more than his "mean extraction." There is no evidence that Strafford felt any such prejudice (*Cf.* Wentworth Papers, ed. Cartwright, p. 28), and though the Queen's objection prevailed, Prior acted as Strafford's confidential adviser at Utrecht, and was afterwards associated in the same capacity with Shrewsbury at Paris, where it is evident that the poet proved a more competent negotiator than the peer, whose naïve confession of total defeat by Torcy on the Newfoundland Fishery question will be found on pp. 228-9 *infra*. With this should be compared his handsome tribute to Prior at the close of the letter to Oxford of 8 March, 1713 (p. 230 *infra*). The question of "*bona immobilia*" referred to in this letter concerned the claim of French subjects emigrating from the ceded countries within a year of the Peace to be allowed to sell their immoveable property. This claim, notwithstanding Shrewsbury's advocacy and Bolingbroke's apparent inclination to give way, the British government eventually refused to concede. (See the Treaty in *Corp. Dipl.* viii. p. i. 341, §. xiv. and *cf. ib.* vii. p. i. 41, §. xi.) The principle for which the French contended has, however, since come to be universally admitted. (See Rivier, *Principes du Droit des Gens*, i. 207.)

Shrewsbury's letters from Dublin, Oct., 1713–March, 1714, are diverting by the lively picture which they afford of the strife of factions in the city. The Duchess of Newcastle, whose two letters are printed on p. 248 *infra*, was Margaret, third daughter and co-heir of Henry Cavendish, the second duke. She was widow of John Holles, Earl of Clare, created in 1694 Duke of Newcastle. The "wicked marriage" mentioned in the first letter was that of her only daughter, Lady Henrietta, to Edward Lord Harley, afterwards second Earl of Oxford. (See Arbuthnot's letter of congratulation, p. 239 *infra*.) The Lady Margaret Harley, to whom the first Earl of Oxford wrote the pretty letter of 21 Oct., 1723 (p. 250 *infra*) was Prior's "noble lovely little Peggy," the future (second) Duchess of Portland.

The letters of Arbuthnot on the publication of *Gulliver* and of Voltaire referring to the *Henriade* and the connection of the Harley family with France are of considerable interest. But the diligence of biographers has left so few remains of the wits of this period unprinted that they are here but meagrely represented, and abrupt indeed is the transition from the last letter of the author of *Gulliver* to the first of the author of *Night Thoughts*. It will be observed that Young's letters begin at a critical epoch in his life. He had married in 1731 Lady Elizabeth Lee, daughter of Sir Edward Henry Lee, created in 1674 Earl of Lichfield. In 1731 Lady Elizabeth was a widow, having been married to a certain Colonel Lee, by whom she had one son (pp. 281, 304) and two daughters, Elizabeth, who married on 18 June, 1735, Henry Temple, son of the first Viscount Palmerston, and Caroline, who is frequently mentioned in the letters and eventually married William, afterwards General, Haviland (p. 311 *infra*). By his wife Young seems to have had but one child, a son, Frederick, who matriculated at Balliol College, Oxford, on 12 Nov., 1751, studied divinity, and presumably took holy orders; but of whom little else is known save that in 1766 he placed a monument to the memory of his father and mother in Welwyn Church. He has been absurdly identified with the Lorenzo of the *Night Thoughts*, notwithstanding that he was but a child when the poem was published.

It will further be observed that in a letter of 20 Dec., 1740, Young refers to "the great number of touching admonitions Providence lately has been pleased to give me of my own

mortality" (p. 256 *infra*). The latitude with which "lately" is used in ordinary parlance is so considerable that we cannot exclude from the list of these admonitions the death of Mrs. Temple, though it took place so far back as October, 1736. Of the other admonitions one was the death on 18 August, 1740, of Mr. Temple, which was speedily followed by that of Lady Elizabeth Young.

In the Preface to the *Night Thoughts* Young tells us that "the occasion of this poem was real, not fictitious," and three bereavements occurring in swift succession are plainly indicated as the occasion in the apostrophe to Death in the *First Night*:—

> Insatiate archer! could not one suffice?
> Thy shaft flew thrice, and thrice my peace was slain;
> And thrice ere thrice yon moon had filled her horn.

The last line would seem to import a period of three months; but Young is not known to have suffered any great bereavements but the three above mentioned, and an immense draft on poetic licence is necessary in order to identify the Narcissa and Philander of the poem with Mrs. Temple and her husband. The poem therefore still remains a crux for the critics. Moreover Narcissa is represented as dying not before but after Philander,* as dying in her bridal hour, whereas Mrs. Temple died considerably more than a year after her marriage, and as denied a grave by Catholic bigotry and buried by stealth, whereas Mrs. Temple was buried in the Protestant cemetery at Lyons, and there is neither evidence nor likelihood that it was ever proposed to bury her in ground consecrated by the Catholic Church.† It is therefore evident that the attempt to identify Philander and Narcissa with Mr. and Mrs. Temple labours, to say the least, under extreme difficulties, and the tradition of Montpellier that Narcissa died there about the year 1741, and was buried clandestinely in the King's Garden, would seem to deserve more consideration than it has received.

Between Mrs. Temple and Mrs. Haviland there seems to be ample room for another daughter of Lady Elizabeth Lee, who, if

---

* 'Twas night; on her fond hopes perpetual night;
A night which struck a damp, a deadlier damp
Than that which smote me from Philander's tomb.
Narcissa follows ere his tomb is closed.—*Third Night*, 59-62.

† *Cf.* the article on Young by Sir Leslie Stephen in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

she died early and in a foreign land and was buried in a nameless grave, may well have escaped the research of the genealogists; but the letters unfortunately shed no light on this matter. As to Philander we gather from the poem that he was a man of the loftiest character and a sage, and that he died suddenly and in the full maturity of his powers. Of Mr. Temple we know nothing that suggests such a character, and the mere fact that he died in middle life is a very precarious basis of identification. In this connexion it is to be observed that an earlier draft of the lines descriptive of Philander's death, which close the *Second Night*, serves Young in the letter of 3 May, 1742 (p. 271 *infra*), to pay a tribute to his friend Dr. Alured Clarke, then on his deathbed. Both chaplains to the King, Young and Clarke had been well acquainted, and though, while Young languished in his Hertfordshire living, Clarke got preferment, a prebendal stall at Westminster and the deanery of Exeter, no jealousy had impaired Young's cordial regard for his more fortunate friend, whose benevolence was so proverbial that, had he but died a little earlier, he might well have been regarded as the original of Philander. Philander is already dead in the *First Night*, and therefore some other original than Clarke must still be sought: nevertheless it is by no means impossible that some traits of Clarke's character were introduced into the portrait during revision.

The death of Mr. Lee, Lady Elizabeth Young's only son by Colonel Lee, occurred in 1743 (*cf.* p. 281 *infra*, and *Notes and Queries* 1st ser. v. 252), nor, had it been possible to antedate it, is anything at present known of his history or character.

The letters on the whole evince a degree of optimism which is striking in a man of Young's melancholy cast of genius, and who deemed himself, nor altogether without cause, to have not come by his deserts. It is interesting to find such a man ranking the pleasures of benevolence highest in the scale as being alone neither 'short' nor 'precarious' nor 'mixed' (p. 266 *infra*), and finding no objection to marriage but that "which the wise world amongst its ten thousand objections never makes"—"that the husband and wife seldom die in one day, and then the survivor must necessarily be miserable" (p. 268 *infra*). There is sly humour in his remark *à propos* of his chances of preferment:—"I really believe the Archbishop is my friend, but your Grace knows 'tis dangerous trusting the clergy" (p. 277 *infra*),

and in his description of the Duke of Newcastle as "our Pope," "as fixed as St. Paul's by his own weight in spite of all the revolutions of the little court buildings around him " (p. 280 *infra*). The Mr. M—— mentioned so scornfully in the letter of 29 May, 1744, is perhaps Edward Wortley Montagu. The book referred to in that of 28 July, 1744 (p. 283 *infra*) as, though not written "to your Grace," yet "written for your Grace," is of course the Second Part of the *Night Thoughts*, the preface to which is dated 4 July, 1744. The *Third Night* had been dedicated and introduced with a most courtly apostrophe to the Duchess. As to public events, little is to be gathered from these letters, even the Jacobite insurrection of 1745 passing almost unnoticed. Much the same is to be said of the letters of Mrs. Montagu; their interest is mainly in the light they shed on the social life of the period. In this connection attention may be drawn to the inventory of the Duchess of Portland's trousseau printed in the Appendix.

The correspondence as far as the last letter of Swift, pp. 253-4, was seen through the press by the late Mr. J. J. Cartwright; the remainder of the work by Mr. J. M. Rigg, who is also responsible for the Introduction.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

OF THE MOST HONOURABLE

THE MARQUIS OF BATH.

Vol. I.

THE HARLEY PAPERS.

Brampton Bryan.

1643, July 26.—A true relation of the siege of Brampton Castle in the county of Hereford begun on Wednesday July 26th 1643, being the public fast day.

Upon Wednesday the 26th of July about two of the clock there appeared two or three troops of horse which divided themselves after they had faced our castle about an hour, from a little hill on the south side thereof called Pinners, and presently stopped all our passengers. Not long after there appeared about two or three hundred foot upon the east part of our castle which likewise dispersed themselves. The number of the enemy, as we understand since, were about seven hundred of horse and foot.

This evening a trumpeter was sent to summon our castle from Henry Lingen, esquire, High Sheriff of the county of Hereford, Sir Walter Pye, knight, and William Smallman, esquire, which was answered by the honourable and valiant the Lady Harley.* The evening upon their first approach and before their summons [they] murdered one John Powntney a man born blind, because upon demand he said he was for the King and Parliament.

Thursday the 27th many of the foot possessed the town and church, and we played all that day and night with small shot upon each other. Some of the enemy were slain, but none of us. This day they plundered many of our sheep and cattle.

Friday the 28th we continued with small shot till about the evening, when another trumpet and letter was sent from

* Copies of the summons and answer, and of other letters referred to in this narrative are printed on pp. 8-22 *post*.

Sir William Vavasour, knight, Colonel and Governor of Hereford, which was likewise answered by the Lady Harley. This day the parley being ended they plundered our horses which we endeavoured to suspend, they being housed, but could not, and in the night the Cavaliers plundered all our fat cattle and cows.

Saturday the 29th of July a troop or two of Horse appeared and dispersed themselves about us, and about evening a drum was sent with another letter, so we ceased from shooting that evening and night.

Sunday the 30th of July we expected their ordnance and were compelled to pluck up our portcullis, and about the evening the honourable Lady sent a letter to the Governor, so we ceased till a warning piece should be on their side given.

Monday the 31st was spent in letters and answers, here annexed, with a cessation of arms.

Tuesday August 1st 1643 the enemy approached into our quarters and began to raise breastworks, but being commanded out by a gentleman, one Captain Scudamore, refused. Immediately the Cavaliers fired a house in town whereupon we gave fire roundly upon them [for] about an hour, but then we espied all our out-houses, containing very many bays of building, on a light fire. This evening a trumpet was sent from the governor aforesaid with a letter, which was answered, etc.

Also another letter from the Lady with a promise of answer at twelve of the clock the next day, yet unperformed.

Wednesday August the 2nd an answer was expected to the aforementioned, but instead thereof we had peals of ordnance.

Thursday August the 3rd very early in the morning the Cavaliers fired our mills, and about ten of the clock the fire began in the town which within a very few hours consumed the greatest part thereof, then about three that afternoon the enemy planted a saker against our castle in the stable window. This evening they made ten shots against us with bullets of betwixt six or seven pound weight which only pierced our battlements but slew none of us, wherein the great power of God may be observed, that in these nine days not a hair fell from our heads by any of these enemies; as for our loss by fire and plunder which hath already been very great to the value of three thousand pounds and upwards, yet it was observed that all of us took joyfully the spoiling of our goods. The malignants of the country stood upon hills about us, and when the ordnance played, gave great shouts, which no whit daunted us. This night they cast up a work at the parsonage on the east side of our castle which we could not prevent in the dark, and the enemy fired a bomb on the west side, which did no whit annoy us, although they had the wind.

Friday August 4th the parsonage house and barns were burnt down, which was an advantage to us for there the enemy quartered their men and began to raise batterings and breastworks. All this day they played with their great gun; they made twenty six shots against us which only struck down one chimney and a battlement of our castle, shattering the tilestones, and

although most of the bullets came in the house there was not one of us hurt, whereby we may see an Almighty power and Providence in our protection and preservation.

Saturday August 5th the enemy made twenty one shots more against our castle, and at last down came the top of another chimney, at which the Cavaliers gave a great shout—and cause they had so to do—that with five great shots at eighty yards distance they prevailed against one stack of chimneys and a battlement. This was the execution done this week, God being still pleased to preserve all our lives and support our spirits. We omitted nothing that might strengthen our walls, laboured day and night in a cheerful expectation of a happy deliverance. This afternoon the enemy beat up their drums and a part of them marched out of town; many country people came into their room and made that night many fires and a great noise, the cause of this alarm is not yet known to us. This night they made a great shot at us which did no execution as we were taking down tile and timber.

Sunday August 6th the enemy saluted us very early with their loud music eight times before morning sermon and then left off, perhaps ashamed of some barbarism on this day, or rather because God did blow upon some of their instruments of cruelty which broke. About one of the clock we heard many muskets go off and at last discerned them shooting as if some part had been in skirmish with them a mile off; the particular of this we are yet ignorant of. Let me add this one thing remarkable, that of men women and children never used to such hardships, about one hundred all immured up in a close house and the dog-days, there was not one sick or feeble person among us.

Monday the 7th of August, we had secret intelligence that the enemy had no great hopes of taking the castle, that some of them were hurt, some slain, that their scouts had taken a little girl of ours and murdered it, that the Parliament forces were on their march, etc. This day they made ten shots with a demiculverin which did no execution; in the afternoon they planted a very great gun on the west side [of] the castle and made three shots against us, the third bullet came in at the window and shattered the wall by the clock, broke the bell and hurt in the lobby at the parlour door the Lady Colebourn, struck out one of her eyes. Mrs. Wright, Dr. Wright's wife, was also hurt, but thanks be to God, neither of them mortally. This was the saddest day that we have yet had since the beginning of the siege.

Tuesday August the 8th the enemy planted two great guns against the west side of our castle; this day they made twenty nine shots against us, some of their bullets weighed nine pounds ten ounces, all which did no execution, neither on the walls nor persons, such was the mercy of God to us. This evening came in two colonels of the enemy's foot, which vapoured at their first approach and gave a shout, called us Roundheads; these made neither our walls shake or our hearts fail.

Wednesday August 9th the enemy planted five great guns

against our castle as if they had meant this day to have beaten it to dust, two on the east part, two on the west part and one on the south. They made forty three great shots against us, which through God's great mercy did us little hurt. This night we had secret intelligence that Sir William Bruerton had given the Lord Capell a great overthrow, that Gloucester was not besieged four days since, that Sir William Vavasour was shortly expected westward, that this county was summoned into Ross upon pain of death.

Thursday August 10th the enemy was so quiet till evening that we could scarce discern they were here, they gave us three shots out of the steeple which broke some Venice glasses in a high tower which formerly entertained some of those capon-faced cowards who have unmanned themselves in offering violence to so noble a lady, an action which will render them odious to man, as their 'perjurious' act at Hereford perfidious to God. This night we had secret intelligence that their greatest gun was yesterday broken, that the cannoneer was killed and that twenty five of their men were slain by us.

Friday August 11th the enemy began very early with their great guns which in the night they had planted near us. They made this day thirty six shots against us, which through God's mercy hurt none of us, nor our walls but very little, besides continually shooting with muskets and hammer-guns ever since the siege began and yet not a man of ours slain or wounded, which is a wonderful thing. This night they made two shots with their great gun, which likewise did no execution, thanks be to God.

Saturday August 12th, the enemy continued shooting with their great guns, sometimes battering at chimneys, sometimes at the walls below, anon at the windows and tiles, now three or four shots in the west, then to the south and east, then cursing the Roundheads, calling us Essex bastards, Waller's bastards, Harley's bastards, besides rogues and thieves. This was their language and these were their actions to reduce us to obedience to the King. This day they made twenty shots against our castle and so concluded three weeks work, all which through the wonderful mercy of our good God, did us very little hurt, yet not a man slain or wounded although so many thousand shots have been shot against us. I dare say there hath been no such preservation in these three kingdoms since the beginning of these unnatural wars. The praise we ascribe only to the God of our preservation.

Sunday August 13th we were necessitated to work in the morning, for we found that our wall in the west was sore battered almost to a breach and that very near the ground; it was a round tower that contained a staircase, which might be fortified with more ease than any part of the castle, there we bestowed much pains in lining the walls. This day we had secret intelligence that two more of their guns were broken, that another cannoneer was sore hurt, that Prince Rupert had sent the enemy word to leave our castle, and to run away, that an army was upon their

march from London for our relief. This day they played not with their cannons at all, but lay still, as if they had enough.

Monday August 14th the enemy was very quiet till the afternoon, then they began out of the steeple to batter. They made five shots against us this day, which did us no hurt. This night we had secret intelligence that the enemy was preparing fire balls to destroy us.

Tuesday August 15th the enemy continued battering with their great gun out of the steeple our worst friend. They made this day nine shots more at our south battlements which did no execution there; and from day to day hath the Lord hitherto preserved us and made their own guns their executioners.

Wednesday August 16th the enemy lay still almost the whole day; at evening they made two shots against us from the stable, which did no execution. This day we had secret intelligence that the Parliament forces were at Wolverhampton, that Gloucester was besieged, that the King lay before it, that Bristol was delivered up upon composition, that Sir William Waller was coming to raise the siege of Gloucester, that Brampton Castle was given to Sheriff Lingen if he could get it.

Thursday August 17th the weather being very foul the enemy lay still about us and we had a pretty intermission from them; but the Lord was pleased this day to sadden us with the breaking of an iron gun, which was our greatest, whereby an honest and active gentleman of our garrison was sore hurt and it was God's great mercy we (*sic*) had not been slain, which we acknowledge with much thankfulness. The enemy played not with their great gun this day.

Friday August 18th being the [twenty-fourth] we were besieged, our honest cook received a shot through his left arm, which was the first bullet [with which] the enemy touched any of us. This night we had secret intelligence that the Scots were come into England, that the whole kingdom resolved to rise as one man, that Sir William Waller was made General of a great army in London and was coming westward, that the cause in the [ ] was successful through the kingdom, but for us in particular, without hopes of any relief as yet.

Saturday August 19th the enemy lay very quiet all the day, there was nothing remarkable save only the conclusion of another week and not one of us slain, but one hurt; on the contrary we were informed that of the enemy there were threescore hurt and slain.

Sunday August the 20th we spent in fasting and prayer that we might be delivered out of the hands of these bloody enemies, who were, by the power of God, this day restrained from disturbing of us.

Monday August 21 the enemy made four shots with their great gun which did no harm. This day a small party of our men sallied out upon the enemy and slew some of them, fired a house where they kept their wild fire, very much to our advantage, some that lay prisoners have since confessed that these ten men of ours that sallied out made four hundred of theirs ready

to fly; there was not one of our men touched in this service. The praise of our preservation we ascribe only to God.

Tuesday August 22nd the enemy made eight shots more which did no execution. This day they cast up breastworks in our gardens and walks; and lay so near us that their rotten language infected the air; they were so completely inhuman that out of their own mouths, and the mouths of their guns, came nothing else but poisoned words and poisoned bullets.

Wednesday the 23rd of August a drum was sent with a parley whereby we understood that Sir John Scudamore, knight, had a gracious letter from his Majesty to the Lady Harley; she presently prepared an humble petition to his Majesty then lying before Gloucester. This night we had secret intelligence from London of an insurrection there by the malignant rabble, of great division between both Houses and other very sad news.

Thursday the 24th of August the parley continued. Sir John Scudamore came up into the castle by a ladder and a rope, had conference with the noble lady, demanded her castle, etc. This day our cook died, being shot into the arm formerly with a poisoned bullet.

Friday the 25th of August, the treaty continued with a cessation of arms. This night we had secret intelligence that things were not so bad in the public as formerly we heard, that Sir William Bruerton waited for an opportunity for our relief, that London was quieted, that Gloucester resolved to fight it out, that such cruelty was exercised at Bristol, notwithstanding fair promises, that it will be a precedent to all the kingdom never to believe the Cavaliers.

Saturday the 26th of August, the treaty continued.

Sunday the 27th of August, the treaty continued. This day Mr. Lake, vicar of Aymestrey, preached to the Cavaliers.

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, the treaty continued with a cessation of arms.

Friday, the 1st of September 1643, Sir John Scudamore returned again, sent a letter to the noble Lady, and gave her to understand that her petition to his Majesty had received a gracious answer, etc. This night we had secret intelligence from Sir William [Waller] that we should speedily be relieved, that Gloucester stood out valiantly, many of the Cavaliers were slain before it, that the Earl of Newcastle had received a great overthrow, that the Lord Capell's powder house at Salop was blown up.

Saturday the 2nd of September we expected his Majesty's answer afore mentioned, which proved only a letter from Sir William Vavasour wherein he offered a pass and convoy for the Lady and her servants to march away. In the evening there came a very sharp letter from Sir John Scudamore requiring our castle and arms, to admit a garrison, or a positive answer which was to this effect, etc.

Sunday the 3rd of September there was a cessation of arms.

Monday the 4th of September, we expected the 'Hoggs' out of Lingams Park, wherewith they meant to undermine us. This

night we had secret intelligence that Eccleston Castle was taken, that Sir William [Waller] was bound for Salop county, that this week he would send a party to raise the siege here, that Gloucester stood out valiantly, that the Scots were in England

Tuesday the 5th of September, Sir John Scudamore came again, sent a close letter to the noble Lady, desired admittance to speak with her, which was not granted, for experience had taught us, their former words and actions wanted nothing but truth. This evening Sir John Scudamore sent in the King's answer as he pretended subsigned by secretary Fauckland here annexed, etc. This night we had secret intelligence that the Parliament forces were at Wem, within seven miles of Salop.

Wednesday the 6th of September the noble lady sent early a letter to Sir John Scudamore here annexed. This morning the enemy began to remove their carriages, which is contrary to the law of arms in time of treaty, whereupon we gave them a warning piece and presently after they began with their great guns afresh ; they made two shots and no more which did no execution.

Thursday the 7th of September the Cavaliers made two great shots more with their great guns which did no execution. We were of opinion that they had enough, and were taking their leave, at last removing their great guns. This night we had secret intelligence that Sir William [Waller] was ready to come to raise the siege here, that the Lord General and Sir William Waller were upon their march for Gloucester to raise the siege there, that now Bristol began to revolt from the Cavaliers' heavy yoke.

Friday the 8th of September 1643, the Cavaliers stole away our bells and as they were carrying them out of town, we sent some of his Majesty's good subjects to old Nick for their sacrilege ; some of their great guns, we heard they were now gone.

Saturday the 9th of September we continued with small shot most of the day and through God's mercy concluded another week and none of us slain or wounded. This evening the enemy fired a 'baracado' upon the west part of our castle, which made us confident they were taking their leave of us. This night we had secret intelligence that the Lord General was with a very great army near Gloucester, that the Cavaliers had raised their siege to give him battle, and that all the King's forces were called together for that purpose from Exeter, from Shrewsbury, &c. ; that Sir William Waller came out of London upon Monday last and that the Cavaliers about us would be gone. This, indeed, was the day of our deliverance, a day to be remembered and never to be forgotten throughout our generations.

The Lord was this day pleased to take away these bloody villains, and to return them with shame, which had vexed us almost these seven weeks, for which we desire to be humbly thankful to our good God, that delivered our poor family out of the hands of fifteen malignant counties set against us even to our extirpation and ruin.

These are the several passages of our siege truly related from our shutting up even to the day of our deliverance. *Copy.*

Henry Lingen, Sir W. Pye and William Smallman to [Brilliana] Lady Harley.

1643, July 26.—Our relations to your Ladyship make us careful to prevent if we can any further inconvenience to you, and therefore to that end we think fit to acquaint you that [as] Sir William Vavasour by his Majesty's command hath drawn his forces before your castle, with resolution to reduce it before he stirs from thence, your ladyship may do well to take into your consideration the posture you are in. Bristol is taken by Prince Rupert and [he] is now before Gloucester. His Majesty's forces are successful everywhere, so that your ladyship cannot hope for any relief, and upon these terms if your ladyship should be obstinate we cannot promise and expect those conditions for you that are fit for your quality, especially my Lady Aubigney having been so ill-treated by the Parliament, neither any quarter for those that are with you, who further must look for all extremity upon their families and substance forthwith. Madam we wish you would take this seriously into your thoughts, and we expect a speedy answer. *Copy.*

Brilliana, Lady Harley to Henry Lingen, High Sheriff, Sir Walter Pye and Mr. Smallman.

1643, July 26.—Your relations to me which you are pleased to make mention of might have invited you to another piece of service than this that you are now come upon, in which if you should have your desire it would never crown you with honour before men, nor blessings from God. For Sir William Vavasour's drawing his forces before my house by the King's command, I dare not, I cannot, I must not, believe it, since it has pleased our most gracious King to make many solemn promises that he would maintain the laws and liberties of this kingdom. I cannot then think he would give a command to take away anything from his loyal subjects, and much less to take away my house. If Sir William Vavasour will do so I must endeavour to keep what is mine as well as I can, in which I have the law of nature, of reason, and of the land on my side, and you none to take it from me. For Bristol and Gloucester it is no precedent to me if they are taken, that I should give away what is mine. I believe I shall have more comfort in keeping my own to the utmost, than ever you will have in the least endeavour to take it away.

Sir William Vavasour to [Brilliana] Lady Harley.

[1643,] July 28. Wigmore Grange.—I took notice of your ladyship's letter and denial upon Wednesday night with much regret, for I thought the demands made to you by those gentlemen who subscribed the letter were so reasonable that they could not have found contradiction from anybody, much less from a person of your wisdom and virtue. How your ladyship can term yourself one of the King's loyal subjects, when either by your command

or connivance at least, your rebels in your house have committed so many thefts, murders, and taken so many prisoners for no other cause than for being good subjects. Truly, madam, I don't understand those declarations you are pleased to mention of our gracious King are conditional, and comprehend only those who acknowledge his power and obey his commands, which if it please your ladyship to do, by delivering up those rebels in your house, which you now endeavour to protect—and truly madam I must deal plainly with you—much in vain, for we will never suffer the King's power to be affronted by so small a part of the county, the dispute will end, for if you please not to withstand the right which God and the laws of the land have put into the King's hands. I shall deal fairly with you, madam. I am your servant, and to one so noble and virtuous am desirous to keep off all insolences that the liberty of the soldiers, provoked to it by your obstinacies, may throw you upon; yet if you remain still wilful, what you may suffer is brought upon you by yourself, I having by this timely notice discharged those respects due to your sex and honour. *Copy.*

Brilliana, Lady Harley to Sir Willliam Vavasour.

1643, July 28.—I have considered of your letter you were pleased to send this morning. For my denial to those reasonable demands you wrote of, I am ignorant of any demands they mean to offer to me, for sure I am they made none in their letter. Those gentlemen you write of seemed in their letter so far to befriend me as to let me know you had sent soldiers before my house to reduce it. I know nothing I can be reduced to but to poverty, and it is endeavoured as much as can be, for all my cattle and sheep are taken by your soldiers. I wrote the gentlemen word I would endeavour to keep what was mine as long as I could and I know that does not make me an ill subject, nor give anyone warrant to take it from me. Sir, I have heard such a fair report of you that it possessed me with a belief that so noble a soldier as yourself would rather have put forth your power to have rescued me from injuries, than to have poured them upon me, and I think it exceedingly strange that so ingenious a mind should take up such false reports, as it seems you have of me. Sir, my words shall always be so ruled by the line of truth, that without further protestations you may believe this truth, that none in my house tolerated by me did ever commit murder or theft, things which I abhor as much as any can. Since you have taken up what is fallen, I believe there is so much virtue in you that you will be glad to know the truth, though it may seem too long a story. I guess they ground the report of theft and murder on this accident. Some Welshmen in my house desired leave to go home Whitsuntide last, which they did. When they were in their own country they went to the sheriff's house in Radnorshire and thence or from his son they took two buff coats, some halberts, and a horse, when they returned to my house. Before they came in I heard what they

had done, with which I was so much displeased, that I discharged them presently, paying them what was due and not suffering them to come into my house. The sheriff's son two days after wrote me a letter to let me know what they had done, and they said they had killed a man. I caused the man to go into the town to search for what he had lost, of which they only found some halberts which were delivered into the constable's hands till Mr. Lloyd sent for them, which Mr. Lloyd did the other day and they were delivered to him. I wish all could say as I can that I never took anything from anybody that I had not good right to, and they as willing to give it as I to receive, neither did I ever favour anyone in my house that would do the least injury. For taking of prisoners I never did take any, but as I was enforced thereby as I thought to rescue myself, but upon the score of being the King's servants I never did. I am so far from that if any unworthy man bear that name I should respect him for that though he had nothing else to challenge it. But when my servants and friends were taken, I took some to regain mine again. For having any rebels in my house, I know none but such as appear to be his Majesty's most faithful and loyal subjects. Surely, Sir, you have discovered that which I cannot perceive in any, and you and all the world are deceived if you think there is any drop of disloyal blood in my heart, and none can less cherish our gracious King's enemies than myself. Therefore let me obtain the common right that you will believe myself and family to be the King's most faithful subjects. I know you have taken up those reports at random, or else I should be in a labyrinth of thoughts who you should suspect in my house for a rebel. Why you are pleased to term me obstinate I know not, my endeavour is to have my will stoop to reason, and not to do anything because I will do it. Sir, I need not tell you your soldiers have taken my beasts and all else they can and shot at my house these two days and nights, but for what cause am ignorant and I hope the Lord will never leave me so far to myself that I should give just cause why I should be so used, and therefore I believe you will by these lines see your mistake in me and those that are with me, and so be sorry for what injuries you have done me, and recall your soldiers that I may not be further wronged by them. *Copy.*

Sir W. Vavasour to [Brilliana] Lady Harley.

1643, July 29.—I received your ladyship's answer to my letter, wherein you were pleased to justify yourself and those in your house, and to tax me and my soldiers. I shall not trouble your ladyship with much or often writing to you, only this time your ladyship hath professed yourself so faithful a subject, I am confident you will justify it by obeying his Majesty's command, and indeed madam I shall not exceed the commission given me by his sacred Majesty, to which I am sworn to be obedient. For your cattle truly I gave a strict command they should be safely preserved, to the end, if your ladyship shall

approve yourself loyal, they may be restored and shall, or satisfaction if they shall not be forfeited to the King. I make no pretence myself to them, I have ever abhorred the thing plundering. For my soldiers shooting these two days, it was directly against my order, for indeed I was not in a present condition, my cannon being not then come and I do not love to spend my shot in vain, nor do I believe they had given fire against your house had they not been provoked to it, by your first and often shooting from thence, who have killed a little boy, which truly, madam, if not timely prevented by a treaty must be revenged. *Copy.*

Brilliana, Lady Harley to Sir W. Vavasour.

1643, July 29.—The letter you were pleased to send me this day I have received. For my justifying myself in avowing my loyalty to our gracious King is that which I must always do, and Sir, for taxing you had not Mr. Lingen and Sir Walter Pye sent me word that you had sent soldiers against me, I should not have believed it, that you of so much wisdom would have concluded one who you did not know to be worthy to be destroyed. Sir, the letter that Sir Walter Pye, Mr. Lingen, and Mr. Smallman wrote to me, assured me that your soldiers came before my house in a hostile manner, and as they said to reduce me; to what that may be extended to I know not, so that I looked upon [them as] a professed enemy, who as soon as they came into the town killed a man, and that night killed my sheep and lambs, and the rest they drove away. I waited patiently resolving to bear as much as with my safety I could. On Thursday morning the soldiers approached nearer my house, and reviled those they saw in my house, both in words and actions; they were desired to keep off, which they would not, and then my men shot; but I cannot say it was to revenge the killing of the man when they came first into the town, or the taking of my sheep, for I will do nothing in way of revenge, but what shot was made was to keep off those that were my enemies from too near an approach; which action, if you did not account me—your servant—as an enemy, you would commend, that I endeavoured to preserve my family. Sir, did you know my heart, you would see I were more ready to show you respect, than give me occasion of revenge. Sir, you are pleased to make mention of a treaty, but in what manner I know not, because you are not pleased to express it, but sure I am, I am ready rather in the way of peace to put an end to this difference, than still to have you as my enemy, for yet I cannot say I am yours; for sure, had I like the power you have and as fair an opportunity to do it, I should not go to your house and do as much as you have done to me. *Copy.*

The Same to the Same.

1643, July 30.—My rents have been stopped by the gentlemen of this county for almost these twelve months, and now my cattle and horses taken by your soldiers. When I heard you

were come into this county, I having heard the worth was in you, I promised myself you would be as slow to such an act as others had been, but I know not how the gentlemen of this county have overcome you, for yet I cannot tell how to think, that of yourself you would so injure one that had no way deserved it. I believe my condition cannot be paralleled, that one of my condition, who have my husband from me, and so wanting much comfort, I should be besieged, and so my life and the lives of my little children sought after, with that of my whole family without any cause given on my part or of anyone with me. Sir, you have been pleased to be their instrument to take away that upon which I and my children must live, which was the stock upon my ground and which being gone, and my rents not paid, I must bethink myself of another place to be in, and therefore I desire you will do me the favour to let me have liberty to send to Sir William Pelham, who is with the King, that by his means I may obtain a pass, by which I may go safely to some other place of more safety than my own house. *Copy.*

Sir W. Vavasour to [Brilliana] Lady Harley.

1643, July 31.—If your ladyship shall please to command your servants and all others within your house to lay down their arms, and suffer me to send in a guard, I will wait on your ladyship, and upon the word of a gentleman you shall receive nothing of violence to yourself or family, or anything within your house by the said guard, and I shall not exact from your ladyship beyond my punctual orders from his Majesty, but show your ladyship all warrantable respects. *Copy.*

Brilliana, Lady Harley to Sir W. Vavasour.

1643, July 31.—For my servants laying down their arms I know of none they bear but for mine and their defence, a thing warranted by the laws of the land, and it is strange to me that my having a few arms in my house is more offensive than [in] Sir John Winter's house. Sir, for me to yield that you should place a garrison in my house, I cannot find out any reason for it, and under what notion you would do it, I know not; but this I conceive, I should become a prisoner in my own house, which I cannot yield to, for so I should speak myself guilty; and thus much more I must say, my dear husband hath entrusted me with his house and children, and therefore I cannot dispose of his house but according to his pleasure, and I do not know it is his pleasure that I should entertain soldiers in his house; and surely Sir, I never will voluntarily betray the trust my husband reposeth in me. I have hitherto believed very well of you, and that I may do so, I will not—if I can help it—try how your soldiers will deal with me; and I trust the Lord my God will deliver me and mine out of all my enemies' hands; but if it hath pleased the Lord to appoint that your cruelties and wrongs to me and mine, and some of the inhabitants of this town, must help to fill up the measure of all

the cruelties now used against those that desire to keep faith in a good conscience, I shall not be displeased; for when the measure of cruelties is full, the day of deliverance will soon appear to the Church of God which is now afflicted. And Sir, let me desire of you not to be displeased if I put you in mind with the rest of the gentlemen of this county, how you make yourselves guilty of innocent blood; for so you will, if you shed the least drop of any one with me. *Copy.*

Sir W. Vavasour to [Brilliana] Lady Harley.

1643, July 31.—This return of your ladyship's is so contrary to your letter the last day, when you were justly sensible of the great danger yourself and your children were in, as also desirous to send to Sir William Pelham, that by his means you might obtain means to pass from this your house; that I can guess your resolutions are to be disobedient to his Majesty's commands; if so, truly madam, I shall discharge my duty to his Majesty with more pity to your ladyship than envy, and could heartily wish your ladyship were where yesterday you did wish yourself; and for your evil counsellors that think themselves so free I shall not doubt but suddenly do such justice upon them—if they continue thus obstinate—as is due to such rebellious dispositions. As for Sir John Winter's fortifying his house, it was for his Majesty's service and with my consent; I could wish your ladyship had the same intentions or loyalty to his Majesty. For your being a prisoner in your own house, it was never my resolution. *Copy.*

Brilliana, Lady Harley to Sir William Vavasour.

1643, July 31.—I now perceive you received the letter I sent you yesterday. I am in the same mind I was then, that if you will give me liberty to send to Sir William Pelham that so I may procure a pass, I shall take it for a favour, but that I hope did not discover any intentions in me that I would admit of a guard being put upon me. Sir, far be it from me, I should ever believe our gracious King—to whom I am a most loyal subject—should take it for a disobedience in me if I should not admit of soldiers in my house. I am sorry you will not afford me a common charity, to believe me loyal to his Majesty, since you know not to the contrary. Sir, besides the right of a common subject, I am so happy that, my lord my father was in a particular manner his Majesty's servant, and therefore I should be sorry that any heart should outstrip mine in loyalty. Who you mean by evil counsellors I know not, neither is there any in my house guilty of any crime which may make them liable to justice. Truly Sir, you are better acquainted with my family than I am; and if you know any such you will do me a favour if I may know who they are. Sir, I know not whether it is your intentions I should be a prisoner in my house, but I should take myself so to be if I were under a guard. *Copy.*

King Charles I. to Brilliana, Lady Harley.

1643, August 21. The Court at Matson.—Whereas we understand that Brampton Bryan Castle in our county of Hereford hath been and is made a receptacle and place of retreat to the rebels now in arms against us, and a great terror to the country thereabouts by killing of divers of our good subjects, firing of houses and many other outrages, and hath been in a rebellious manner maintained and defended against our forces; yet being very desirous to believe that what hath been done in and from your said Castle hath rather proceeded from your being seduced by evil counsel than out of your ill-affection to us and our service, and being willing to avoid effusion of blood, and unwilling that our forces—in respect of your sex and condition—should take such course for forcing or firing of the same as they must otherwise be compelled to take; for these reasons we have sent our trusty and wellbeloved Sir John Scudamore, knight, in our name to demand the said castle to be immediately surrendered to us, and we do hereby advise and require you to admit of our forces into the same under the conduct of Sir William Vavasour, knight, or such as he shall appoint, for the safety and security of that country, assuring you in the word of a King of our grace and free pardon for the offences aforesaid in case the said Castle be immediately delivered according to these our commands; but if you shall refuse to obey this our command and advice in so particular and gracious a manner directed to you, you must thank yourself for that ruin and destruction which contrary to our desire will unavoidably involve you; and so expecting your ready compliance, as well in order to your interest, as to your loyalty, we bid you heartily farewell. *Copy.*

Sir John Scudamore to Brilliana, Lady Harley.

1643, August 23. Brampton.—The King s most excellent Majesty hath sent me hither with his gracious letters directed to your ladyship. I desire to know by this drummer how I may be admitted to deliver the same and what else is given in charge to me. *Copy.*

Brilliana, Lady Harley to Sir John Scudamore.

1643, August 23. Brampton Castle.—I shall with all readiness receive what your gracious King is pleased to send to me, and I am sorry that my condition is such, that there is not so fair a way for you to come into my house as I desire and I know not how to offer you the way by which others are enforced to pass; but if it please you to assure me of his safety I will send down a gentleman to receive his Majesty's letter, and if it please you either by writing or word of mouth, to deliver to the gentleman what further you will say to me, I know he will be a faithful messenger. *Copy.*

Sir John Scudamore to [Brilliana, Lady Harley].

1643, August 23. Brampton.—I have received your Ladyship's, and have taken assurance from the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces here, that the gentleman, whom your ladyship shall send forth to meet me and receive his Majesty's letters, shall return in safety; and for my assurance, if that may add to his security, I do hereby promise that as far as may lie in my power, who have no command here, but was very glad to receive the honour of his Majesty's commands, so full of tender compassion to your ladyship, had your ladyship been willing I should have gladly expressed by word of mouth how much I desire your peace and happiness, to which, if my endeavours may promote anything, it shall be cheerfully undertaken and faithfully prosecuted by me.

Postscript.—I shall meet the gentleman in any convenient place of your ladyship's choice. *Copy.*

Brilliana, Lady Harley to Sir John Scudamore.

1643, August 23. Brampton Castle.—I will believe the assurance you are pleased to say the chief commander of his Majesty's forces here doth promise for the security and safe return of the gentleman I shall send to wait upon you; and since you are pleased to engage your own promise for his safe return, I shall have a double confidence in the promise you give of his safe return. I should have taken it for an happiness to have had the favour to have seen you myself but since I cannot easily attain to it at this time, I must desire you would do me the favour to meet Mr. Phillips in the Bowling Green which is a little on this side the garden. Sir, if you please to let me know whether I have made a choice agreeable to your mind, and Mr. Phillips will be ready to receive the honour of waiting upon you. *Copy.*

The Same to the Same.

1643, August 23. Brampton Castle.—I must earnestly desire the favour, that you will be pleased that I may have liberty to send a petition to his most sacred Majesty, by which our most gracious King may truly understand my condition, which I make no doubt but he will commiserate. I presume Sir William Vavasour will not deny me this favour, for once he promised to give me liberty to send to the Court.

Postscript.—If I may have liberty to send, I will God willing fail not to send one very early to-morrow morning if you will please to procure a pass for him. *Copy.*

Sir John Scudamore to Brilliana, Lady Harley.

1643, August 23. Brampton.—I have spoken with the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces now here concerning the pass your ladyship desires; his answer is, that he hath no commission to grant such pass, and Madam I take it for a particular misfortune to me that your ladyship should desire anything of me which is out of my power to perform. I have yet received

nothing in answer to his Majesty's letter, according to the contents whereof and my duty, I do hereby demand in the King's name that your ladyship do immediately deliver your castle of Brampton Bryan into the hands of Colonel Henry Lingen, High Sheriff of this county, and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces under Sir William Vavasour; and I do expect your ladyship's positive answer hereunto and shall immediately repair therewith to the Court near Gloucester. I hope my fortune may be better hereafter in my endeavours to serve your ladyship. *Copy.*

Brilliana, Lady Harley to Sir John Scudamore.

1643, August 23. Brampton Castle.—Since it cannot be that I may obtain the favour of a pass for a servant of mine to go to the Court, I will, God willing, send you my petition to our most gracious King tomorrow morning in the which will be my full answer, and I hope procure me more peace than yet I have had. *Copy.*

Sir John Scudamore to Brilliana, Lady Harley.

1643, August 24. Brampton.—I know of nothing that hath been denied your ladyship which is in the power of any here to grant, and for my own part I am heartily sorry that your ladyship is not pleased to make use of such service as I am able to do you, which I am confident might be of far greater advantage than the passing of a servant to the King. My Lords of Clare, Holland, Bedford and many others of the Houses of Lords and Commons are come from the Parliament to Wallingford, and other places in the King's obedience. My Lord of Clare hath sent an humble petition to the King, but on Tuesday when I came from Court he was not yet admitted to come forward to the King's presence. I have not heard that my Lord of Westmorland is yet released out of his imprisonment by the Parliament; and for my worthy good friend Sir William Pelham he is in Lincoln, which is lately reduced to his Majesty's obedience, &c. My Lords of Northumberland and Pembroke are in the case aforesaid; and give me leave to tell your ladyship, if you knew how the affairs stand at London I am confident I should have the honour of bringing back to his Majesty the notice of your ladyship's doing yourself right by submitting to his Majesty's just demands. I must be again a suitor to your ladyship for a positive answer.

Postscript.—Were your ladyship informed how absolute the King is both in the north and west, and how much his party increaseth in Kent, Surrey and other counties about London, the high differences between the Earl of Essex and Sir William W[aller], with the little appearance of recruiting either of those armies, you would perhaps judge the defending of London itself three months will be a very difficult business. The good intelligence the King hath with the Scots and his Majesty's strength at sea under Sir John Pennington, since the reduction of Bristol; these and many other particulars I should have

acquainted your ladyship with, had I been admitted to your presence. The suburbs against the city in arms; the women against the House of Commons in multitudes; the train bands of London against the women who cry out for their slain and imprisoned husbands; divers women killed by the soldiers in this tumult, yet unappeased; Mr. Pym beaten by the women and with much difficulty escaped their fury by water. *Copy.*

Brilliana, Lady Harley to the King.

[1643, August.]—The humble petition of Dame Brilliana Harley. Humbly sheweth that your poor and distressed subject perceiveth by a gracious letter dated 21st of August from your sacred Majesty directed to your said subject and brought by Sir John Scudamore, knight, that many unjust informations have been given to your Majesty against your said subject. Be pleased therefore, gracious sovereign, to believe me, that my house is not nor never was, to my knowledge, a receptacle for any disloyal person, nor was my condition such, as to be a terror to any, much less did any by my command or privity either kill any of your Majesty's subjects, or fire any houses, or commit any outrages to bring or cause the forces under the command of Sir William Vavasour against me, but only kept such a number of servants with arms as in these woeful times might defend me against pillaging and plundering, a thing your Majesty hath in several proclamations expressed your dislike of. Yet so it is, most gracious sovereign, that I have had servants imprisoned, some killed, and now by Sir William Vavasour's forces, all my horses, cattle, corn and other things taken away; my house attempted with many soldiers, horse and foot, with five or six cannons battering the walls, and almost every day assaulted by small shot, whereas your poor subject did never offend your Majesty, or ever take up arms against your Majesty, or any man of mine, or any by mine appointment was in actual rebellion against your sacred Majesty; and therefore your poor subject hopeth and prayeth the premises being graciously weighed your Majesty will not require that from me which by the law of the land is mine, and which if I shall give up, I have no subsistence for myself and mine; but that your Majesty will be pleased to command Sir William Vavasour to withdraw his forces and restore to me my goods, but if your Majesty will—notwithstanding the premises—command me out of my house, my humble desire is that you will in your clemency allow unto me some maintenance for me and mine and fit time to remove myself and family by your protection to pass to some other place where we may find subsistence, that we perish not; so shall she who ever hath been and ever will be your loyal and faithful subject pray for your sacred Majesty. *Copy.*

Lord Falkland to [Brilliana, Lady Harley].

1643, August 30. At the Court at Matson.—Although his Majesty be in no degree satisfied with the petitioner's excuses of so evident

facts, and yet less with the unjust aspersions cast upon his Majesty's officers and soldiers for what they have done according to their commission towards the necessary reduction of a place manned and fortified without his Majesty's consent and against his Majesty's forces, yet his Majesty is yet once more graciously pleased, so far to reflect with pity upon the sex and condition of the petitioner, and to afford the best interpretation to what hath passed, as hereby once more to offer unto the petitioner and also the persons with her, full pardon and free licence to depart out of the castle whither and with what arms and ammunition —ordnance only excepted—they shall please themselves, and to assure them of a convoy accordingly ; and in case his Majesty's forces be immediately received into the castle, his Majesty is yet further contented that the petitioner and her family may if she please remain therein until she have provided herself of another habitation, which gracious offer of his Majesty if it find not a most ready and most grateful acceptance from the petitioner his Majesty must not only then most plainly discover the vanity of the pretences in this petitioner to loyalty and fidelity, but must be enforced to punish with utmost severity of justice so high a contempt of his grace and favour.

Note.—Sir John Scudamore added by word of mouth he had power to grant to her ladyship what other conditions she could in reason demand, which Mr. Moor told her ladyship from Sir John. *Copy.*

Sir John Scudamore to [Brilliana,] Lady Harley.*

1643, September 1. Brampton.—I have outgone my promise ; your petition is delivered to the king and I have his Majesty's answer. Your ladyship is beholding to Sir William Vavasour for his encouragement to me therein, without which I durst not have delivered such a petition to his Majesty. Madam, I desire to be no longer treated with ceremony by admitting me to your presence by an unhandsome way, being ready to undergo far greater difficulties to approve myself, your humble servant. *Copy.*

Brilliana, Lady Harley to Sir John Scudamore.

1643, September 1. Brampton Castle.—I acknowledge your favour in that you were better than your promise and so you say you have delivered my petition to his Majesty. What Sir William Vavasour did in giving way to it, I shall be ready to acknowledge as a favour. I will now it is late hold you no longer with these lines, but wish you may have a good night. *Copy.*

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* Three letters, two dated August 24 and one August 25, which passed between Lady Harley and Sir J. Scudamore, are printed from other copies at Welbeck on pp. 114, 115 of the first volume of the report on the Harley papers belonging to the Duke of Portland. (Fourteenth Report, Appendix, Part II.)

Brilliana, Lady Harley to Sir John Scudamore.

1643, September 2.—Had I not taken cold which hindered my sleep this night these lines should have waited upon you in a more early hour. Sir, I do abundantly acknowledge your abundant favour that you are pleased to suspend so (*sic*) with so an unhandsome way that I may have the honour to see you, which I cannot promise myself, for the chamber where you did me favour to speak to me in being a cold place, I dare not obtain the favour of seeing you there without fear of increasing the cold I have now taken. Therefore give me leave to beg the favour of knowing your mind in the way of a letter, with which, to so excellent abilities as yours are, it is as easy as to speak. *Copy.*

Sir John Scudamore to [Brilliana,] Lady Harley.

1643, September 2. Brampton.—I am very sorry for your Ladyship's indisposition, I was so far from appointing the room where I should wait upon your ladyship, that I should have been content with any room or place. But since your ladyship permits me not to do you the service I desired, and my instructions enable me unto, I can be heartily sorry for it, though I cannot force it upon you. If it please your ladyship to send one out to meet me I shall deliver a letter to him directed to your ladyship, and to return to Court, where I shall give this account that I could not be admitted to say that which was commanded me, and having no order to discourse that with my pen which was delivered me by word of mouth. *Copy.*

Brilliana, Lady Harley to Sir John Scudamore.

1643, September 2.—Did not my indisposition of health confine me to my chamber I should now be as willing to wait upon you in my own house as I was when you last did me favour to come to me. I will send a gentleman to wait upon you, and I presume—if please you—I may by your pen know further instructions, which I should take as an obligation, and will ever be ready to take up all opportunities by which I may appear, Sir, your servant.

Postscript.—I desire to know when Mr. Phillips shall wait upon you. *Copy.*

Sir William Vavasour to [Brilliana,] Lady Harley.

1643, August 31. Langford.—I have seen your Ladyship's petition to the King and have been forward to serve your ladyship with my best endeavours to his Majesty, who hath been graciously pleased to grant you a safe pass and conduct for yourself and servants, your arms being delivered up for his Majesty's use. If I may know wherein I may do your Ladyship further service, I shall be ready to receive notice of it from Sir John Scudamore who hath instructions from me. *Copy.*

Brilliana, Lady Harley to Sir John Scudamore.

1643, September 2.—By your favour I have received Sir William Vavasour's letter. Mr. Phillips tells me that if I send an answer to him you will be pleased to take order that it may be sent to him. On Monday if it please God I will send him an answer to his letter. Sir, I must beg the favour to know to who I may direct my letter to Sir William Vavasour that it may have the honour to come to your hand. Mr. Phillips tells me you are ready for your journey to Ludlow, where I wish you a happy arrival. *Copy.*

Sir John Scudamore to [Brilliana,] Lady Harley.

1643, September 2. Brampton.—I hope Mr. Phillips did not forget to speak to your ladyship for your answer concerning the laying down of your arms and delivering up of the castle; if he did, then your ladyship must give me leave to put you in mind of that hereby. Your ladyship in your petition did set forth all those grievances which you had, which being known to the king, your ladyship said that notwithstanding that if the king would command you out of your house, you humbly desired his Majesty's protection and pass to carry you and your family safe to some other place where you might find subsistence, etc. This his Majesty hath graciously granted you, and a convoy also for your more safety if you desire it, or if you desire to remain in the castle till you can be provided in some other place, his Majesty is contented that you and your family shall so remain there, so as you immediately receive in a garrison of his Majesty's soldiers, and to this I must expect your positive answer, that I may return to his Majesty, whether you will immediately deliver up the castle of Brampton Bryan in the hands of Colonel Henry Lingen, which I do now the second time hereby demand in his Majesty's name and your ladyship's positive answer. *Copy.*

Brilliana, Lady Harley to Sir John Scudamore.

1643, September 2. Brampton Castle.—How to give a positive answer to what you require of me, I know not, for, by what Sir William Vavasour and you are pleased to write, I cannot see that his Majesty commands me out of my house, my petition being delivered by such as I presume intend my ruin. I know not how to believe whether his Majesty hath seen it or not, since he is pleased, as you write, to grant me no more than a mere pass for myself and family. Sir, this concerns the livelihood of me and mine and therefore before the delivering up of my house, I must desire my petition may be solicited by some friend of mine at Court who I may confide in. *Copy.*

Sir John Scudamore to [Brilliana,] Lady Harley.

1643, September 5. Brampton.—Upon your Ladyship's letter on Saturday evening I sent away to Court, and have been

at Ludlow ever since expecting what I have not received, and now, Madam, I am further enabled to serve your ladyship than hitherto. If therefore your ladyship be pleased to permit me to wait upon you, it shall appear to your ladyship how effectually I solicited your petition, even to the obtaining of more than you prayed, and my actions shall testify than an angry or a little misunderstanding (*sic*) shall not discourage me from seeking means to declare myself, your, &c. *Copy.*

Sir John Scudamore to [Brilliana,] Lady Harley.

Same date and place.—I am suitor to your ladyship to know how you will please to permit me to convey that to your notice which I have in charge to deliver to your ladyship in answer to your petition, and the rest of the trust committed to me. *Copy.*

Brilliana, Lady Harley to Sir John Scudamore.

1643, September 5. Brampton [Castle].—Since it is so that I cannot have the freedom to speak to you myself, if please you to let me know your mind by letter I shall be ready to receive it.

Sir John Scudamore to [Brilliana,] Lady Harley.

1643, September 5. Brampton.—If your ladyship have a will to it, I know nothing that can hinder you the freedom of speech with me, who am here purposely to receive that honour from your ladyship; and truly Madam were the thoughts of my heart known to your ladyship, all these scruples and ceremonies would be removed, and I should have the same liberty I have formerly found to your presence: but Madam if you deny me that be pleased to send some one to the Bowling Green to receive what is now come to my hands for your ladyship in writing. *Copy.*

Brilliana, Lady Harley to Sir John Scudamore.

1643, September 5.—Mr. Moor will do me the favour to wait upon you in the Bowling Green, that by him I may receive what you please to make known unto me, for whose safe return I desire the engagement of your promise.

Sir John Scudamore to [Brilliana,] Lady Harley.

1643, September 5.—Mr. Moor's safe return is promised by Colonel Lingen and myself who are repairing now to the Green to meet him presently.

Brilliana, Lady Harley to Sir John Scudamore.

1643, September 6.—Since my petition to his Majesty hath gained me no more than the answer you were pleased to send me last night by Mr. Moor I cannot be satisfied till I have

obtained that, by the hand of some of my own friends, my condition may be presented to his Majesty, who then I am persuaded would grant me liberty to enjoy what is my own. Sir, I will now beg your pardon that these lines waited not on you sooner. If you will excuse that fault and do me the right to believe I am most ready to serve your most noble lady and yourself, you will much oblige me. *Copy.*

Brampton and Hopton Castles.

1643-4.—An account of the sieges of Brampton Castle and the massacre of Hopton Castle, by Captain Priamus Davies, who was an eye witness.

Amongst the several acts of hostility either defensive or offensive since the beginning of these unnatural wars, more of God hath not been seen in so weak means of resistance in any part of the kingdom than in this castle now consumed to ashes together with the town, and that church [in which] was so long held forth the truth of God—by the late famous dispenser of God's truth Mr. Peirson, afterwards, by the no less famous Mr. Stanley Gower—I may truly say to an unworthy people. The manner I shall briefly relate. Know, reader, that the county of Hereford was the first that resolved and then published that cursed resolution against those high and honourable assemblies of Parliament. Those malignant sparks who called themselves the Nine Worthies have kindled such a flame in England that they may well fear the great Justice of Heaven will find them out. These began the quarrel against us, which caused that honourable and gallant Lady Harley to put herself into a posture of defence against their insolent and illegal proceedings. The castle being of considerable strength was manned with about fifty musketeers, some gentlemen commanders, with an answerable proportion of powder and match, and thus inoffensively did this noble lady live upon her own in an honourable, resolute and religious way till the malice of her enemies broke forth as followeth:—

Those gentlemen entered into an association with the adjoining counties of Wales to reduce as they called it this castle to the obedience of the king, whereupon a summons was sent from Mr. William Coningsby, one of the Nine Worthies, which contained many threats and vapours, but no storm followed, save only seizing upon her revenues very valiantly.

The next summons came from the Lord Marquess of Hartford, whose honour was presently remanded unto a more honourable service than to fight with a lady.

The third summons was by Henry Lingen, High Sheriff of the county of Hereford, Sir Walter Pye, knight, and William Smallman, esquire, three of the Nine. Upon Wednesday the 26th of July, 1643, these appeared and faced us with a body of horse and foot, stopped our passages and sat down before us, took some of the inhabitants, amongst whom there was one born

blind, who [when] they demanded who he was for, he replied for King and Parliament, him they presently murdered, the summons being sent as followeth, &c.*

Upon the 27th the enemy possessed themselves of the town and church; we played upon each other all that day and night, slew some of the enemy. The 28th we continued shooting till the evening, when another trumpet was sent from Sir William Vavasour, Governor of Hereford, with a letter, the contents, &c.

The 29th their horse faced us again; by this time they had plundered us of all horses, fat beefs, sheep, &c. which was indeed their business and errand they came about, and then sent a drum with a letter, the contents, &c.

Upon Sunday the 30th we expected their ordnance, and were compelled to block up our double portcullis, for the loss of the church which stood directly before the castle gate, within sixty or seventy paces, did extremely annoy us. Another letter sent, the copies, &c.

The 1st of August, 1643. The enemy made their approaches into our quarters, began to raise breast works and batteries, whereupon we gave fire and beat them out. The Cavaliers presently fired a house in the town, and we for our own defence put fire to all our out-houses, which contained many bays of new building, which was much for our advantage. A trumpeter was again sent with a letter, the copies, &c.

Upon the 3rd of August the enemy burnt our mills. This day the greatest part of the town was consumed and burnt. In the afternoon they placed a great gun in the steeple and made five shots which only shattered the battlements but did no execution. It is observable, that in these nine days not one of us was hurt; that all of us took joyfully the spoiling of our goods, that none of us were daunted either by the enemy, or by the malignants of the country, who stood upon hills about us, giving great shouts whenever the ordnance played.

Upon the 4th day the parsonage house was burnt which was for our advantage, for then they began to raise more batteries. All this day they played with their great gun, twenty-six shots they made which did little execution but upon chimneys and battlements.

Upon the 5th the enemy made twenty-three shots more, at last came down a stack of chimneys, at which the Cavaliers gave a great shout and cause they had so to do, that with thirty-seven shots no more execution should be done. We pretermitted nothing that might strengthen our walls, but all of us laboured as they say for life with much cheerfulness.

Sunday the 6th they would not let us rest, they made eight shots against us before morning sermon, then left off that day as if they had been ashamed. It was this day observed, that although there were of men women and children above a hundred all immured up in a close house, and in the dog days, yet there was not one feeble or sick person amongst us.

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* See pp. 8 &c., *ante* for the letters referred to in this and succeeding paragraphs.

Upon the 7th we had secret intelligence, that the enemy had no great hopes of taking our castle, that many of them were slain, that a little girl we had sent out was murdered; they made five shots more against us this morning. In the afternoon they planted another great gun against the west part of our Castle. The third shot the bullet came in at a window, shattered the walls, which hurt the Lady Colburn, struck out one of her eyes. Lieutenant Colonel Wright's wife was hurt, but neither of them mortally.

Upon the 8th day they planted another great gun against the west part of the castle, this made twenty-nine shots, all which did no further execution. This evening two colonels of foot, the train bands of Ludlow came before, who at their first approach vapoured, called us Roundheads, rogues and traitors, and sat down.

Upon the 9th the enemy had planted five great guns, as if they meant this day to have beaten it to dust. They made forty-two shots, which through God's mercy did little hurt. The noble lady was this day more courageous than ever, bid us now play the men, for the enemy was in good earnest. Among the many policies of war it is not the least to hold intelligence with friends abroad, this her wisdom was great. This night we had secret intelligence through all their courts of guard to our no small advantage and encouragement.

Upon the 10th they made but three shots which did no execution, but some Venice glasses in a high tower. These had formerly entertained some of those gallants who had now unmanned themselves in offering violence to so noble a lady; an act which will render them as odious to man as their late perjurious act at Hereford before Sir William Waller, perfidious to God.

This night we had secret intelligence that their greatest gun was yesterday broken, which killed their cannoneer; that we had slain many of their men, amongst others our mason as he was pointing with his hand to shew the enemy the weakest part of the castle was shot through that hand into his belly and died.

Upon the 11th the enemy began very early with their great guns which in the night they had placed nearer to us; this day they made thirty-five shots which did no great execution.

Upon the 12th the enemy continued this battery, cursing the Roundheads, calling us Essex's bastards, Waller's bastards, Harley's bastards, rogues, thieves, traitors, and all to reduce us to the obedience of the king and the Protestant religion. They made this day twenty shots against our castle and so concluded their week's work. It is very remarkable that notwithstanding so many thousand great and small shot not a man was hurt.

Sunday 13th of August we were necessitated to work, for we found that our wall was battered almost to a breach, very near the ground. Here we made strong barricades and lined the walls with earth. This night we had intelligence that two more of their great iron guns were broken, the cannoneers sore hurt, that Prince Rupert had sent the enemy word to fire the castle and come away.

The 14th they made but five shots which did no execution. In the night we had private intelligence that the enemy were preparing grenades.

Upon the 15th they continued battering out of the steeple which did most annoy us. This day they made nine shots more, upon the 16th but two shots. This night we had secret intelligence that Gloucester was besieged, that the King lay before it, that Bristol was delivered up, that our castle was given to Sheriff Lingen if he could get it.

Upon the 18th our cook was shot into the arm with a poisoned bullet and died, this was the first bullet that touched any of us. This night we had secret intelligence from our friends abroad but no hopes of relief, that we had slain about sixty of the enemy. Sunday, the 20th, we spent in fasting and praying that we might be delivered out of the hands of these bloody enemies, who were by the power of God this day restrained from disturbing us.

Upon the 21st the noble lady called a council to advise how those quarters of the enemy should be fired where their grenades were preparing. It was resolved that ten men should sally out upon that quarter suddenly, who were to retreat by a word. These no sooner fell on but, with rockets from the castle, the house was fired, all their materials and grenades burnt, our men slew some of them and retreated back again without any loss, in all which time the enemy were struck with such a panic fear that they could neither fight nor run away. At last recollecting themselves they made four shots with their great gun which did no execution.

Upon the 22nd day the enemy made their approaches nearer to us, cast up breast works in our garden and walks, where their rotten and poisoned language annoyed us more than their poisoned bullets. This day they made eight shots against another tower of the castle, which did no execution.

Upon the 23rd a drum was sent with a parley; a knight was sent with a letter from his Majesty to the noble lady, she returns an humble petition to his Majesty, then lying before Gloucester, the copies, &c.

This night we had secret intelligence by letters from London of an insurrection of the malignants there, into what a low condition the Parliament party were throughout the kingdom this exceeding us insomuch that some advised then to deliver up the castle. But then the noble lady protested, that she would rather choose an honourable death, for she was confident that God would own His cause both in the public and private. We needed no better an encouragement.

Upon the 24th the parley continued with a cessation of arms.

Upon the 25th at night intelligence came to us from our friends abroad; that things in the general were not so bad. That Gloucester was resolved to fight it out to the last man. That such cruelty was exercised at Bristol notwithstanding fair promises, that it was a precedent to the whole kingdom never to believe the Cavaliers.

This parley continued seven days until an answer of the petition aforesaid should be returned. The seventh night we had secret intelligence through all their courts of guard again, that Gloucester still held out gallantly although the greatest of our enemies with divers oaths affirmed that it was delivered up.

Upon the 2nd of September a trumpet was sent by Sir William Vavasour with a letter, the copies and answer &c.

Upon the 4th we had intelligence that the enemy meant to undermine us, and that they had prepared 'hoggs' to that end. That Sir William Bruerton would send a party to our release. That Gloucester valiantly stood out.

Upon the 5th a knight came with the King's answer as they pretended subscribed by Faulkland, here annexed.

Upon the 6th the parley continued. This day the enemy began to remove their carriages whereupon we gave them a warning piece; they answered us with two great guns. Upon the 7th with two more. This night the enemy stole away their great guns. Upon the 8th they carried away our bells, which cost some of them their lives.

Upon the 9th of September the enemy fired their barricade and then we were confident they were taking their leave.

This night we had secret intelligence that my Lord General was with a great army very near Gloucester. That the King had raised the siege to give him battle, and that all his forces were called away. This night the Lord was pleased to take away these bloody enemies and to return them with shame which had now lain before us seven weeks almost, for which we returned humble thanks to God that delivered our poor family out of the hands of fifteen malignant counties set against it. During the siege our sufferings were great, the enemy sat down so suddenly before us. All our bread was ground with a hand mill, our provisions very scarce, the roof of the castle so battered that there was not one dry room in it; our substance without plundered and all our friends fled, yet this noble lady bore all with admirable patience, and thus have I truly related the several passages of our siege from our shutting up to the day of our deliverance.

The former siege being raised and we set at liberty, the noble lady instead of revenging herself upon the inhabitants of that country who were active against her to the utmost of their might and power, yea none more forward and false than her own tenants and servants, in a courteous and winning way gently entreated the part adjacent to come in and level those works which they pretended the enemy had compelled them to raise against her promising to protect them, and that none of her soldiers should plunder them, all which they barbarously refused, whereupon we took out a party and compelled them in, but by her special command that none should take a pennyworth from any of them, which was as truly observed, I dare appeal to their own consciences, until their malice broke forth again. Many that had not paid their rents of some years before refused; yea they would not let us have provisions nor any of the conveniences of life which they could hinder us from.

Our necessities and resolutions would no longer brook such barbarism; we then daily sent our parties only against those that had been most active against us; whereby our necessities were in a short time supplied. Also we sent and burnt those engines of war which the enemy had prepared to undermine us. The[y] termed them 'hoggs,' which are used in approaches in war. This exasperated the enemy that they removed their quarters nearer to us. Whereupon this noble lady who commanded in chief, I may truly say with such a masculine bravery, both for religion, resolution, wisdom and warlike policy, that her equal I never yet saw, commanded that a party of about forty should go and beat up their quarters in Knighton, a market town in Radnorshire, four miles off, where Colonel Lingen's troop, her late antagonist, was quartered. This was so performed that we brought some prisoners, arms and horses without the loss of one man; colours also we had, a hand reaching out of a cloud, holding a sword, with the instruction or motto, *Rex et Regina beati, sibi, suisque.* This struck such a panic fear upon the enemy, that for six weeks after they never appeared, in which time we put ourselves into a considerable posture again, and made good preparation for approaching winter, besides that noble Colonel Massey had sent us one barrel of powder, some men and arms, which was all the encouragement or rescue we had.

By this time the fame of this noble lady was spread over most of the kingdom with admiration and applause, even of her enemies, those that were Commanders in chief against her were extremely jeered in the king's army, but herself honourably spoken of.

Thus our prosperity, enlargement, and happiness daily increasing and growing up, suddenly and in a moment decayed and withered, wherein we may behold as in a glass the mutability and inconstancy of earthly honours and content and that nothing below heaven is permanent or lasting, but of a decaying nature, and subject to resolution and change.

This honourable lady, of whom the world was not worthy, as she was a setting forward the work of God, suddenly and unexpectedly fell sick of an apoplexy with a defluxion of the lungs. Three days she continued in great extremity with admirable patience. Never was a holy life consummated and concluded with a more heavenly and happy end. Myself and many others of quality being both ear and eye witnesses to our great admiration; the last period of her mortal abode in this vale of tears, drawing on apace, she with an undaunted faith and resolution looked death in the face without dread, and the Lord Jesus with joy and comfort, to whom she resigned her soul. From Whom she hath received an immortal an incorruptible inheritance and crown, which none of her enemies can reach to rob or despoil her of.

Her body, which she desired might be wrapped in lead, was carefully preserved and placed in a high tower of the castle to attend an honorable funeral which it [*blank*] but was

prevented by the malice of her implacable enemies, as shall appear in the conclusion of this sad scene.

I am not able to express the extremity of grief and sorrow that this sudden deprivation and discouragement produced. Had the enemy for many days appeared we had been able to make very little resistance, but volleys of sighs and tears ; and no marvel, for her gallant resolution, her admirable wisdom in government, her earnest zeal in religion, her care of all our preservations, her encouragement in greatest difficulties had so drawn all our hearts to the admiration and honour of her perfections, that her commands carried us into the cannon's mouth; in short her word was a law to us.

The saddest garrison in the three kingdoms having lost their head and governess, began now to consider what this loss might be to our public employment in the defence of religion and laws, and, therefore, seeing the will of God revealed, resolved unanimously that the commanders should order the garrison, which continued for a month or two with good success, till about December, 1643. A commission was sent from both Houses of Parliament that the castle should be kept for the King and Parliament, it being of considerable strength, that the delinquents in the adjacent counties might be seized upon, that Lieutenant Wright, a very gallant gentleman, one whose religion, resolution, good service and great sufferings speak his fidelity to the kingdom, and to the cause of God, should command in chief in this castle, and raise a regiment for the reducing of this malignant county to the obedience of King and Parliament; an humble account whereof I shall now give, being released out of prison, with submission to better judgments how the first hath been discharged.

He raised a troop of horse, by which means in a very short time we had victualled the garrison for twelve months, out of the estates of the delinquents, also provision for our horses, all which was gained by the sword, besides several delinquents of quality were brought in prisoners. The fortifications both of castle and church will yet speak industry and care.

By this time the enemy understanding our authority blocked us up all the winter, daily assaulted us with great parties of horse and foot a few days, but we [ ] upon the [ ] so that the provision we had, we looked upon as our last, unless we could contrive some way to keep open our passages. We were informed that Hopton Castle within two miles of us was designed for a garrison of the enemy, and immediately one hundred men to be put into it, which was of so great concernment to us that by the advice of all our commanders *nem. con.* we should attempt the taking of it, which was done with a party of about twenty men, without the loss of a man. The manner observable. In the beginning of the night our men came to the gate, one knocked, a soldier within demanded who was there? one of ours replied 'here is one, what do not you know me'? 'who, John Lane' quoth he? 'yes, the very same'; whereupon he immediately opened the gate, and our men

possessed themselves of the castle. Here Captain Samuel Moore commanded in chief, with about thirty men, having authority from Mr. Wallop of Hampshire, the true owner thereof, to keep it for King and Parliament, the castle being before given to Sir Vincent Corbet for the disservice done to the Commonwealth. Captain Moore presently fortified and victualled it, but in a short time received a summons to deliver it, which he refused; whereup[on] a party of horse and foot of Prince Rupert's army under the command of Sir Michael Woodhouse sat down before it, made several storms against it, but were beaten off with great loss, considering the small number of the besieged. At last two great guns were sent against it, which played with great fury but still resistance was made. Several proposals offered, but all refused by the besieged. Sir Michael Woodhouse being enraged, vowed their ruin; as [ ] Major of the Prince's foot assured me. Our men did daily execution on the enemy, that themselves confessed, there were above two hundred slain, and many wounded. The enemy possessed themselves of a brick building very near the castle, from whence they mined in a secret vault under the castle. Our men perceiving this, desired a parley, and Captain Moore had permit to go and return safely; made his demands, that his men should have quarter for their lives, which was refused; but Sir Michael Woodhouse required that they should unblock their gate and lay their arms on a heap and turn out and submit to mercy. This message Captain Moore delivered to his men, who were contented to submit to mercy and give it under their hands that they would so submit. They unblocked their port, put their arms on a heap and came out expecting mercy.

Command was given that they should be bound two and three, then they were stripped naked as ever they were born, it being about the beginning of March very cold and many of them sore wounded in defending their own works, there they remained about an hour until the word was given that they should be left to the mercy of the common soldiers, who presently fell upon them, wounding them grievously, and drove them into a cellar unfinished, wherein was stinking water, the house being on fire over them, when they were every man of them presently massacred; amongst whom Major Phillips, a young gentleman of sweet and comely person and admirable parts, suffered. This inhuman and barbarous act, wherein the laws of God, of man, of nature, of nations and of arms are violated, cries to the great Justice of heaven to revenge; and we hope that the justice of England will in due time require an account of it.

But let me return to Brampton Castle again; where the next morning this bloody regiment came vapouring so near that some of them were slain, some unhorsed, so they wheeled about and marched away to Shrewsbury with their ordnance. During this tragedy at Hopton, some passages happened in this garrison which I may not omit. One John Cotar, an old servant of the house, our new Quartermaster, contracted with a prisoner Lieutenant Jones of the county of

Radnor, with whom he was trusted, and made an escape, by which means all our strength was discovered to the enemy. The night following two others that had pretended and protested very fair run away; after these, some fifteen soldiers of the garrison took pattern and made their escape; so that we were left not above fifty fighting men. These cowardly and base spirits gave such encouragement to the enemy together with a petition of some [ ] gentlemen to Prince Rupert, one of whom hath been murdered by the Cavaliers, in his own house, that they resolved with all their power that that destroyer of petty garrisons could make to come against us. This bloody butcher Woodhouse with a great army came and sat down before us; demanded our castle by summons, which our Governor, notwithstanding his great force, refused to read, or treat with such a tyrant, returns his summons back again, and fires upon his army with musket shot at random. Up he rises, and away for three or four days; then sends another summons, which was likewise refused. About the second week in Lent, 1643, he sat down before us with a close siege, brought his artillery within a mile of us, and entrenched his men, and makes his approaches. Our Governor gives command that the church and those houses in the town that were standing should presently be set on fire, by which means the enemy quartered his men a mile off, and left about three hundred in the trenches. Upon these about thirty of our men sallied out and slew about sixteen of the enemy; gained their arms and returned without hurt. Then the enemy strengthened their guards, built huts, raised batteries, brought their cannon baskets and 'hoggs' for their approaches. In all this time we lined our walls to our best advantage, then fell upon them with a second sally in the sunshine. We here did observe the great power of God, and the promise made good, that five of you shall chase an hundred; with a very small party we beat them quite out of their works, burnt all their huts, cannon baskets, batteries and 'hoggs'; took almost all the muskets in that regiment, besides a multitude of spades and shovels and other arms; slew about twenty-six in the place and returned without the loss of a man. This gave such encouragement, that we not only gained time, but daunted our enemies, that they were as we understood [ ] to rise up from before us. Colonel Woodhouse, enraged at this, posts away to Prince Rupert at Shrewsbury, tells him a great story; in whose absence we sallied out twice more; put the enemy to flight with the same party and still did execution and gained arms: so that with an hundred able soldiers more we might have kept it to this day. But God that had determined otherwise denied us that. The news of relief came to us about this time from Gloucester, through all their courts of guard. Woodhouse now returns with most of the Prince's army; the Red, Green and Blue regiments of his great ordnance, which he speedily planted, and a multitude of pioneers and colliers that began to mine. The multitude being so great, we thought it not safe to adventure out any more. Then they began

with their great ordnance to play upon us. The first day they made eighty-seven shots against us with a twenty and twenty-four pound ball; these made our walls begin to reel, which we lined within with earth. The next day they continued shooting as fast as they could discharge, until with a musket bullet through the port hole we shot their cannoneer. Five days together they followed the breach, which was very great and fair to enter, but their hearts failed them. About this time went another messenger from Gloucester that brought us letters, the contents whereof were, that within three nights we should be relieved, and we all resolved to die in the breach rather than deliver it up.

This night the enemy fired the breach, there being much timber and combustible matter, so that it burnt furiously. They had in the day planted their ordnance upon the breach, and as we were quenching the fire, they played upon us with great and small shot in a most furious manner, yet not a man slain or so much as daunted, so wonderful God held up our spirits. We were fired eight or nine times, which we still quenched. All the alarm they gave us was by firings, which we could by no means prevent. Our expectations of relief, the third day being over, began to fail, we yet resolved to defend the breach to the very last man; for their cruelty at Hopton Castle encouraged us to die like men rather than to rely on their mercies; besides we knew not then, but they had given our men at Hopton quarter under hand and seal, for so we were well informed by very many that were there, which was the only reason why we would never admit any parley. Three days more we defended our breach, yet no relief came; in all this time we had continual and dreadful alarms night and day, that we were all tired for want of sleep. Twice in one night their whole army, which was very great, cried 'Fall on!' 'Fall on!' so loud, as if hell itself were broke loose, discharging such volleys of shot that no rest could be had. When the alarm was ended, we laughed so heartily in the breach, 'hollowing' that barking dogs seldom bite, that we heard them damn themselves, but the devil was in us. The enemy now began to terrify us with their mines, which by this time came very near our walls, swearing most horribly that they would blow us up to the devil; we replied that the devil was below, and bid them come like men and enter their breach or be silent, for fain we would have slept. Never did God keep up the hearts of a poor handful of men or raise them higher than were ours; considering what a bloody potent enemy lay about us and how far all possibility of relief was from us. I speak this only to the praise of God who manifested His great power and our weakness, otherwise these truths would render me ridiculous. The Cavaliers seeing our resolutions to be above their alarms, were at a stand what to do: to enter the breach they had no stomach, they had enough of that at Hopton Castle, began to contrive another way; they gave some intermission and sent to Captain Moore, then their prisoner at Ludlow Castle, that he should write a letter to Lieutenant Colonel

Wright, our Governor, to treat of conditions to avoid the effusion of blood, which letter was through God's mercy the saving of all our lives, for without it we had never surrendered the castle. A storm of their great shot being over, immediately they sent us a parley; demanded whether we would receive a letter from one of our old friends Captain Moore? we replied, that if all acts of hostility upon their honours and reputations might cease on both sides till the parley was ended, we would; which was agreed upon; presently after the receipt of this letter, our men appearing upon the walls, the enemy gave fire upon us; we taxed them for their perfidiousness and put them at defiance as men unworthy of the name of gentlemen or soldiers. Within an hour after they recollected themselves acknowledged their error and required an answer, which was to this purpose: that the reason why we refused to parley with them was their bloody act at Hopton Castle after quarter given under hand and seal, for so we were informed. They replied it was false, avowing the same that quarter was not there given. We being unsatisfied demanded wherein we might receive satisfaction by a letter from Captain Moore, whose hand we knew, which was granted, but without a cessations of arms. About midnight this letter came, which we refused to receive, the time being unseasonable to let down our ports, the enemy lying so near us; at this they stormed and gave us a fierce alarm.

The fatal day being come, which was the Wednesday before Easter 1644, we received this satisfying letter from Captain Moore, that quarter was not given at Hopton Castle under hand and seal. We then accepted a parley with Sir Michael Woodhouse, colonel, Sir William Vavasour, colonel, and Sir William Croft, knights, jointly made our demands; but such was our condition being miserably battered and without a possibility of relief, that they would yield to no other conditions than these, viz.: that the castle and arms should presently be delivered up otherwise to expect no quarter; that we should yield ourselves their prisoners; that the lives of all in the garrison should be preserved, and that no violence should be offered to any of us, and if this offer was now refused, to expect extremity. Our Governor and some of the commanders resolved to purchase better conditions, at how dear a rate soever; but then our divines and some others seeing a possibility of life, being extremely tired with extremities, began to persuade the contrary. The violence and outrages that threatened our women and children, whose lives we preferred before our own, and seeing ourselves without possibility or hopes of relief, or of further defence or longer subsistence, we accepted their conditions and delivered up the castle.

Within two hours after, as we since understood, an order came from Prince Rupert to put us all to the sword, especially Doctor Wright, our Lieutenant-Colonel. Whereupon a council of war was called, where it was determined that, notwithstanding the conditions subscribed, the Prince's order must be obeyed. But Sir William Vavasour, that had more of a gentleman and a

soldier in him, protested against it, by whose means, through God's mercy, we were preserved.

Next day they carried us all away prisoners to Ludlow Castle, from thence to Shrewsbury, some of us to Chester Castle. The inhabitants of Ludlow baited us like bears and demanded where our God was.

It is very remarkable that in both the sieges of Brampton Castle we lost but four men, yet five hundred and thirteen great bullets were shot against it, and most of them came in. The enemy confessed that they lost four hundred of their men there; and at Hopton Castle, that they had spent above twenty thousand pounds before they took it. Six thousand worth of powder in both places. After they had taken it, it was so battered that they could not keep it. At last a command came from Prince Rupert, that destroyer, that both these castles should be burnt and demolished, which was performed. And thus have I rendered some account of our service and sufferings. Let the praise be ascribed to the Lord of Hosts, that hath not given us our lives only for a prey.

The body of this noble lady we had interred within the castle, which, when we had delivered up, we besought the commanders that no dishonour might be offered to it, they promised there should not; but since we are informed that it was taken up under pretence to search for jewels, but the jewels being gone, the cabinet was raked up again in close cinders; from whence it will one day rise against these monsters and usurpers of the name Christian.

Brampton Castle.

[1643.]—A list of those that were in the castle during the siege. Includes Dr. Nathaniel Wright, lieutenant-colonel, governor of Brampton Castle. John Hakluit, Henry Archibold and Priamus Davies, captains. Thomas Harley, Monsieur Peter Vachan, Dorothy and Margaret Harley, and nearly a hundred others.

Hopton Castle.

[1644.]—A list of those that were in the castle. Includes Samuel Moore [More], captain and governor, Thomas Phillips, major, and twenty-two others.

Sir John Scudamore to Elizabeth Bletchley, in Ludlow Castle.

[1644, May.]—I have received yours and Sir Michael Woodhouse's letters and am very glad yours and my sweet cousins' freedom is so near. I think it fit that you get Sir Michael Woodhouse to give a pass to a messenger to be presently sent away to Sir Robert Harley to procure the Earl of Essex's pass for all you, and for such a friend as you shall make choice of

and prevail with to bring you up. As also to send to Sir Robert to send a hackney coach for you. God willing, I shall not fail to wait upon you on Tuesday next. My service, I pray, to my sweet cousins. *Copy.*

THOMAS HARLEY to COLONEL [EDWARD] MASSEY.

1644, May 30. Ludlow Castle.—I and my two sisters, with those that are with us, since Brampton Castle was taken having been at Ludlow Castle, where we have been nobly used by Sir Michael Woodhouse, the governor, are now set at liberty by him to pass to London. Therefore I desire that if you cannot send a coach to Hereford for us, that you will give a safe pass for a coach and horses which shall bring us thither, and Sir John Scudamore, who is pleased to do us the favour for our safer conduct, to come with us, and for his servants and horses' safe return. *Copy.*

CAPT. SAMUEL MORE to THOMAS HARLEY, in Ludlow Castle.

[1644, May.]—I sent you a note from Stafford that my Lord Bruerton's son is freed from his imprisonment by my Lord Denbigh, whose enlargement I do conceive will beget yours and your sweet sisters. I hope also your servants, Samuel Shilton and William Bagley, shall have leave to wait on you to your father.

I was not free from my imprisonment till Saturday sevennight, and I sent to you from Stafford, whither I was brought, but lest that should not come to you I send this to kiss your hand. *Copy.*

T. H[ARLEY] to his kinsman, SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE, in Hereford.

1644, June 7. Ludlow Castle.—Our not hearing from you since Monday is the reason why we send this messenger to you, by whom we desire to hear if yet you have heard anything from Gloucester in answer to our letters thither; and when you do we shall be very glad to see you here. *Copy.*

PE (*sic*), LADY SCUDAMORE to THOMAS HARLEY, at Ludlow.

1644, June 10. Hereford.—Sweet Cousin, I have received your letter directed unto my husband; upon Friday last he went towards Worcester, but is not yet returned; all that I can say concerning your business is this: our Governor here, Colonel Minn, went unto Monmouth about nine days past, with a purpose to send a trumpeter to Gloucester with all the letters, which he did, and since is returned hither to Hereford, but can hear nothing of the messenger ever since he went. Whereupon I told my husband that perhaps the trumpeter might be detained till the Governor of Gloucester return from "Mamsberry"; but he saith that the Governor came back upon Tuesday last. This is all I can say. It may be you see my husband before I shall, for I hoped he would have returned yesterday. I desire you to remember my service to your little sweet sisters and the gentlewoman with them. *Copy.*

Sir Michael Woodhouse to Sir John Scudamore.

1644, June 18. Ludlow Castle.—In pursuance of an order given unto me by his Highness the Prince Rupert to set at liberty the bodies of Thomas Harley, gentleman, Dorothy and Margaret his sisters—the children of Sir Robert Harley, knight of the Bath—who were amongst others taken prisoners in Brampton Bryan Castle, in the county of Hereford, by his Majesty's forces under my command, it is therefore by me ordered and I desire and require you, being their near kinsman, to take into your charge and custody the bodies of the aforementioned persons, and to take such course as you shall think fit for the conveyance of them to their said father in London, or elsewhere. *Copy.*

T. H[arley] to Colonel [Edward] Massey, Governor of Gloucester.

1644, June 20. Holm Lacy.—I received your letter and give you many thanks for your expression of love and kindness to us. We are come from Ludlow Castle, and intend, God willing, to go to London. Therefore I desire, Sir, you will do us the favour to send to my Lord of Essex—who I hear is not far from Gloucester—for one pass for my sisters, myself and our company to London, and another pass for Sir John Scudamore—who doth not only accommodate us for our journey, but himself doth us that favour to come with us—and his two servants to go up to London, and for the return of him, his servants, coach and horses. *Copy.*

Colonel Nicholas Mynne to all Officers and Soldiers of the King's Army.

1644, June 20. Hereford.—Warrant for William Bagley to pass to Gloucester and back. *Copy.*

Thomas Harley to his father, Sir Robert Harley.

1644, June 30. Northampton.—I must humbly beg pardon that I have not presented my humble duty to you and acquainted you how it was with us. I thank God my sisters and I are very well, and though God hath afflicted us—which I pray God to sanctify us—yet He hath been very merciful to us, so that among our enemies we have received favour; and it is no small mercy to us that God still continues health to you and you to us. Sir, after we had been at Ludlow Castle eight weeks and more, we were released to go to London, and Sir John Scudamore to take care to convey us thither—who hath showed us much kindness, and hath lent his coach and horses to bring us, and himself comes with us.

We came out of Ludlow on Tuesday, June 18th, and came to Holm Lacy, where we were used exceeding kindly by my Lady Scudamore, and tarried there till the Saturday following; and from thence went to Gloucester, where we tarried till Thursday after, and then went to Sheudly Castle, on Friday to Warwick,

and on Saturday we came safe to Northampton, where we are now; and I hope God will bring us safe to you, to our great joy and comfort after so many afflictions. Sir, my brother Robert is very well and presents his humble duty to you. We met with him at Gloucester, where not being well he tarried there, and because he could not pass safe to the army he came with us as far as Warwick. *Copy.*

"Relation of the Siege, Surrender and Butchery at Hopton Castle, by Colonel Samuel Moore [More]."

[1644, February.]—As my memory serves me I went to Hopton Castle the 18th of February, which was Sabbath day at night. The Monday sevennight the enemy came before us, who, facing us with a body of horse first, within an hour sent a body of foot, who approaching the out walls, we not able to hinder them because the work did not flank—being an old wall made round—and burnt the lodging where Richard Steward lay, they brought ladders to scale the walls, but upon our killing of three, of which one in the place, they retreated and went out of the town, but kept courts of guard near us with horse and foot. At this time we were but sixteen men in all, myself and Mr. Phillips being of the number. Mr. Phillips came the Tuesday after I came, who stayed to help to advise the making of some works, in which we were as industrious as men could be for that short time; so Major Phillips advised to send for more men to Brampton Castle and they lovingly sent us twelve, who meeting with the enemy six of them only at that time came to us, the others went back again; but afterwards we had about eight more, that we were in all thirty-one men. The enemy let us alone save for some alarms in the night, till the Friday sevennight after the first assault, and then they marched, as we guessed, about five hundred horse and foot, and entered the town, and that night approached that part of the wall, about two hours before day, where they burnt Richard Steward's chamber, and at the back of a chimney they with pioneers made a breach which our sentinels discovering gave the alarm, and there we fought with the enemy at push of pike, throwing stones and shooting. They, as after some of theirs reported, being two hundred, got most of them through the breach, but not within our works, but as in a pinfold, in the circumference of the burnt lodging, where we killed many, among the rest one Captain Vaughan, who as since I heard was brother-in-law to Mr. Edwards of Stretton. There we repulsed them, took six muskets, ten pikes, eight clubs which they called Roundheads, boards many and six or eight ladders. After this repulse the next day save one they marched away in a full body, but it seems they went but to Clungunford, and kept scouts and courts of guard something more than musket shot of us, and so we were quiet almost a week save for some alarms. Then they came again in a full body and entered the town. The next day Mr. Francis Herbert and Mr. Charles

Baldwin desired to speak with me, which upon mutual assurance of safety I yielded unto, but took one faithful man with me named Richard Brecknock, who was within hearing and so were many of that side, among the rest one Captain Pindore; the effect of their discourse was to wish me to deliver up the castle with probable hopes I might live with my wife and enjoyment of my estate. I answered it was not fair nor like an honest man to betray a trust, but for my part myself would leave it to them who trusted me, and if I might live with a safe conscience at home I should be glad of it. So that was not hearkened to, and I parted with them, only Captain Pindore told me Secretary Nicholas wrote to him of the Scots defeat. I told him I knew Secretary Nicholas well, which as he after said was the saving of my life. This was as I remember on Saturday. Next day came in carriage of cannon basket and such things, and in the night three pieces of ordnance. By Monday eight of the clock there came a drum and summoned the delivery up of the castle, which if we did not yield before the shooting off one piece of ordnance we must not expect quarter. Our answer was, that we were trusted to keep it for the service of King and Parliament, by the consent of the owner Mr. Wallop, and would do it with loyalty and fidelity. As soon as ever the answer came they shot at us and continued with shooting with culvering and demi-culvering, that from 9 o'clock till five they shot ninety-six shots at our out-wall and made a breach; but we on the other side did work as fast as we could and placed boughs of trees and earth to hinder their entry. About five of the clock they approached the breach, which we defended, and for the space of two hours at least we fought at push of pike, muskets and clubs, so that we gave them a repulse with the loss of one man, who was killed with a cannon shot, and three or four hurt. But they lost, as they afterwards confessed, in all one hundred and fifty of theirs, some said two hundred. I could not imagine we killed so many, but as they said themselves, yet we saw many fall. Next day they desired to fetch their dead, which we yielded to. They were quiet all Tuesday till night and then they came to the brick tower and set it on fire—which we had made in the first week we came thither, a work to (*sic*), from the out-wall and so to the castle; and on the other side from the castle to the out-wall another, to keep the water to us—which when we saw and could not prevent we set Gregory's house on fire, which burning took hold on the newer brick house and burnt it; then we fell to make up the door of the castle, which the enemy perceiving shot their ordnance and killed one man and hurt two more; we made up the door, but they brought broom faggots to fire the porch; we threw water to quench it, but for all we could do the porch burnt and the door began to fire, which we did not perfectly know till we came out. Our men, weary with working all night, and not out of their clothes for a fortnight's time, and the enemy gotten under us through a house of office on the south side; it was moved we should desire a parley,

which being done, they bid us send our conditions which Mr. Phillips and I contrived shortly to this effect, that we would surrender the castle, so that we might march away with our arms and ammunition; they denied, we should have no conditions but to yield to the Colonel's mercy. We went to consult together and found that so much household stuff with provisions were in the room below.

The castle consisting but of one room below and another above, that we had no space to countermine, and our stairs were [ ]up, being close to the door where the barricade was, and removing Mr. Gregory's provision and stuff in, both Mr. Phillips myself and six more did plainly hear their working under us, and as the enemy told me when I was in prison they had blown us up within two hours. We agreed to propose to the enemy we would yield the castle upon quarter for our lives. Answer was brought that no other conditions would be yielded but to be referred to Colonel Woodhouse's mercy. We then consulted again and being brought into that condition it was thought better to yield upon those terms, than be blown up, but indeed we all thought we should only be made prisoners, and did not think of such a death as hereafter shall appear was upon so many honest souls. So we told them we would yield to their mercy, only we desired safe conduct from the violence of soldiers to the Commander in Chief. So we came out and stood in order, I was committed to Lieutenant Aldersey, and Major Phillips to Ensign Phillips, so whilst the soldiers and Henry Gregory and the rest had their arms tied, we all stayed, and then we were bidden march, so I went, and thought the rest had followed till I went over the water by Richard Steward's house towards Mr. Sutton's house and then I looked back and saw none follow. I marvelled, but my thoughts were, the rest were to be examined apart; but as it seems by the relation afterwards they were stayed behind, but I was brought before Sir Michael Woodhouse, who asked me the number of the men, which I told him, and what arms and ammunition? I told him about twenty-two muskets, carabines and fowling pieces and three pistols. He asked what I thought they fought for? I told him I thought he as many other men was misled, so he commanded me to the custody of Lieutenant Aldersey, to one Glasbrook's house in the upper end of the town, where, after I had been about an hour, an officer, whose name I never heard, asked me what money I knew of there hid. I told him none. He urged me and said Mr. Phillips had confessed some. I told him I did know of none nor knew that Mr. Phillips knew of any. So he went after some threatenings. Another came and asked me whether I desired to live? I answered it was natural to desire to live, yet I prized not my life before a good conscience. Then a little after, about three hours after the delivery of the castle, Lieutenant Aldersey asked me how many of the soldiers I thought were sent to Shrewsbury? I told him I knew not, I conceived all were in one condition; he told me none, which I wondering at apprehended they were delivered and was somewhat cheerful, but then he

answered with an oath they were all killed, whereat I was troubled in myself, though I did not much express my sorrow, only said I hoped then they were happy, or to that effect. So night growing on, I was called to eat with Lieutenant Aldersey, who indeed used me civilly. I could eat but little; then he let me lie upon his own bed, where I lay till day break, and then I rose, and so they fell to prepare for Ludlow, whither I was brought, and from that time till taking Brampton Castle I was close prisoner; my wife had liberty to come to me but not speak without an officer by. Two days before Brampton Castle was taken, Captain Dean, in Sir Michael Woodhouse's regiment, pretended to come to see me, and in discourse told me they had battered the castle, so as they were ready to enter and were ready to spring a mine, and if I desired to have them saved, I might do well to persuade them to yield. I told him I had no means to write; he said he would convey the letter. I told him then I would write what I heard. So I wrote to Dr. Wright that I heard Brampton Castle was not like to hold long out, and that conditions were granted, better sought timely than stay too long, but I left it to his more wise consideration. He answered me that he heard Sir Michael Woodhouse break his conditions with me, for he promised quarter as he heard, and therefore he would not treat with him. I replied we were referred to his mercy; so then they treated and agreed. I hope it saved blood, but I confess I had much reluctance with myself, knowing it was their own ends they sought, and therefore I wrote warily, expressing I was close prisoner. After Brampton Castle was taken I had my liberty to speak more freely and to come into the kitchen and speak with the people of the house, and so continued a while till my exchange; only Mr. Symmonds, a minister of Essex that was Sir Michael Woodhouse's chaplain, came to see me and got me so much liberty as to go to the chapel in the castle two sabbath days, otherwise I was not permitted to go out of the lodge. I moved Mr. Symmonds that since my estate was sequestered and my house plundered I might be allowed out of my estate to pay for my diet. This was also granted, after that time which was about a fortnight and three days before my release, but the rest of the time I paid.

October 23rd, 1644.—This was wrote in a little time after the whole relation in Mr. Samuel Moor's own hand and belongeth to the first time they faced us and assaulted us. After they had done they sent Mr. Sutton to me to tell me the Prince Rupert required the delivery of the Castle of Hopton. I sent word I understood no message that came without drum or trumpet; then he sent me word he had taken my son, and it's certain they thought they had taken him, but it was Robin Millard they took for him. Also I omitted another thing which was, that the Friday following their first attempt, they sent a summons by a drum subscribed by Sir Michael Woodhouse, who demanded the castle in the name of Prince Rupert, and if we would treat he would send hostages. My answer was I kept it by authority of Parliament by the consent of the owner Mr. Wallop, for the service of King and Parliament.

He as all the rest as I heard by themselves when I was in prison were unmercifully killed. Your brother as some of them told me offered 200*l.* to save his life; they took him and brought him into the castle to receive the money; he told them if they would suffer him to send to Brampton Castle they should have it. They swore at him and stabbed him presently; all the rest, being twenty-five, were killed with clubs or such things after they were stripped naked. Two maids they stripped to their smocks and cut them, but some helped them to escape. *Copy.*

Note to above. This was wrote in an odd little scrip of paper in Mr. Samuel Moore's hand, what it belongeth to I know not well, though I believe Mr. Samuel Moore wrote this to Mr. Phillips to let him know that his brother was and how killed. *Copy.*

William Bagley to Thomas Harley.

1646, June 15. Putney.—I have cast up my thoughts and according to my best understanding as far as I am able to judge, I think your father's losses in the ruin of the castle, the outbuildings, the burning of the town, the goods and furniture of the castle, the loss of all his cattle, his rents and other ruins that are made upon his estate may be about twelve or thirteen thousand pounds, besides what waste hath been made in his woods I know not; for the church I conceive thirteen or fourteen hundred pounds may build and repair seats in it again. And for the townsmen's losses I cannot well say what it may be until I have some further information from them; but yet I shall declare to my thoughts, which are thus; if all they who have term for life or years must again repair the buildings out of those ruins, and your father to repair the rest of the town, then I think the loss of the townsmen will amount to about two thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds, or thereabouts.

The day of our enemies' close approach was July 26th, 1643. They brought seven great iron guns, one whereof they called *Roaring Megg*. Their great god in whom they trusted broke in pieces at the third shot and hurt many of their own company; and at three sallies out upon them, we had not one man killed, but many of theirs; and when our time was expired that we must hold the castle no longer we delivered it up April the 17th, 1644. For many acts of God's providence towards us in this time of our trial and trouble, I believe you have more particularly recorded then I am able to do. *Copy.*

Brampton Bryan.

1646[-7], March 12.—An account rendered to the Committee of Accounts at Hereford of the losses in goods and cattle of those that were in the castle and town of Brampton Bryan occasioned by the King's forces, amounting to 2,551*l.* 14*s.* This sum includes—Colonel Dr. Wright, 240*l.*; Stanley Gower, rector, 368*l.*; Francis Boughey, minister, 134*l.*

Brampton Bryan.

Same date.—An account of the moneys required to rebuild the church and town, amounting to 3,216*l.* The church, 1,200*l.* ; the parsonage, 250*l.*, and 19 houses the occupants of which are named, are included in the estimate.*

The Duke of Albemarle, Lord General, to Col. Edward Harley, Governor of Dunkirk.

1660, July 21. Cockpit.—The Lords of the Treasury having appointed that the officers and soldiers of the army give under their hands what Crown lands were bought by or do belong to them, he desires that Col. Harley's garrison will deliver to him the particulars of such lands or rents, viz. King's, Queen's or Prince's lands, as they have really purchased, the time when they purchased them, with the yearly value of them and whether in trust or for themselves.

Two copies of these particulars to be sent to Dr. Samuel Barrowe at Mr. William Clarke's house in the Pellmell, one of them for delivery to the Surveyor-General, the other to be kept by him.

Signed.

The Same to the Same.

1661, May 8. Cockpit.—This bearer Sir Bernard De-Gum (de Gomme) is the gentleman whom his Majesty has appointed to go over for viewing the fortifications of Dunkirk garrison. I desire you to tell him when you go out of town that he may go along with you.

"Young Robin" to Sir Robert Harley, at his Lodging at a strong water shop over against the "Blew Bore" in Tuttle (Tothill) Street, Westminster.

[16]62, August 8.—I now perceive it impossible to live within the cities of London and Westminster and not turn courtier. I wish your lodging had been at Wapping. But whether I write to a man of this world or to an angel is a dispute, yet I expect an answer and am indifferent from what place, but to let you see that a son of Robin Hood cannot be ill natured I will make this manly interpretation of your unkindness, that it is as difficult to find me as a stag in the forest of Sherwood, where men of that race could hardly be harboured, as many worthy balletical records can inform you, yet knowing you to be almost one of us (though of an Indian race) I dare tell you that I am sometimes at Swarkeston, sometimes at Warsop, and now at Bestwood, merry in all places and which is more, well pleased and drink your health

*The letters and papers printed so far in this Report are taken from modern copies bound up in Vol. XXIII. of the "Portland Papers" at Longleat. A few papers in this volume, besides those noted on p. 18 *ante*, have been omitted, as they are printed from the Harley papers at Welbeck in the Commissioners' report on that collection.

dead or alive, which your captain and cornet never will refuse, and thus I have given you a true and perfect account of the plots and affairs of this county as to mankind. But should I enter into or upon the other sex, and tell you a true account of my Lady Newcastle's horsematch, I must crave aid from Sir John Denham and his fellows who trade in nectar, yet to speak truth we have good squeezed malt that smells full out as well as saudwich (*sic*), and that well followed makes us appear like men ; let others express our actions and hers, for we are not book-learned. And now Robin by name and not by nature I bid you farewell, and if thou darest meet me near Warsop upon the forest at the Lady Newcastle's horsematch the last of August, where in taffeta instead of armour bright 'tis six to four I may appear, you shall see such a fight as England affords not the fellow and possibly become one of the brotherhood, which will be no small honour, laying your ordinary knighthood aside, to you and a particular kindness from, &c.

Postscript.—I have a lady and some of my race remembers you. Direct your letters by the Nottingham post to Bestwood and they will find.

Sir Ro[bert] Harley to his brother [Sir Edward] Harley.

1662, November 1. Dover.—I think it fit to send you the enclosed papers. The two letters are from the Lord Mordant, the person mentioned in the King's is Mr. Rumbal. I had divers orders from the King for money, one is with Mr. Rumbal, he can give you an account how we were dealt with, the others I know not where they are, and are worth nothing further than testimonials.

Sir Robert Murray to Sir Edward Harley, to be left with the Postmaster at Ludlow.

[16]67, June 21. Edinburgh.—Till I came hither I was tied up indispensably from making my business known, now I may tell you the King hath named me to be one of six commissioners for managing the Treasurer's place here, the other five are, Earls Rothes, Lauderdale and Tweeddale, Lords Bellenden and Cochrane, so that I cannot tell when I shall stir from hence, though my presence here may be dispensed withal six months in the year; but possibly about September I may go southwards, but be it when it will, I still intend to come your way.

After I have thanked God with you for preserving you from your intestine enemy the gout, I shall only take so far notice of the success God hath been pleased to give the public enemies as to tell you neither of us needs the other's reflections to fill his heart with new fits of melancholy ; our hope is, the foundations stand sure.

There is here a rich East India Hollander outward bound brought in prize by two of the King's frigates under the command of Sir Jeremy Smith. There is in her, as I am told, six chests of

coined silver and one of ducats, and is fully loaded with other commodities, so that of twenty-six guns only six can be used. We hear also of another rich ship brought in last night. I have not now time to write to the honest Doctor [Burnet ?] ; you will acquaint him with my concerns, and I intend to write to him by the next.

Sir Robert Murray to Sir Edward Harley, to be left with the Postmaster at Ludlow.

[16]67, August 7. Edinburgh.—Till this very evening I cannot say I had leisure to answer yours from London since I had it, and I presume now, that this will find you making an end of the business that your voyage to Westminster interrupted, where I hope there is no reigning distemper of bodies nor minds, but that now every one shall sit under his ' Gennetmoil ' (?) and his ' umberleaf ' in peace, and filled with all the blessings I wish may dwell at Brampton. This place affords nothing to entertain you with. I shall be glad to hear of your own and your brother's safe return to the country. I know nothing as yet of my stirring from hence till this year be over, but if I do I still retain the thoughts of making Brampton in my way to London, if I be master of my time. If you please the while to let me hear from you, were it only to tell me that all with you are well, returns will not be wanting, by which you may take some measure of my joy.

Sir Robert Murray to Sir Edward Harley, at the Unicorn at the lower end of King Street, Westminster.

[16]67, December 9. Edinburgh.—You outdo me still more and more, the account you give me of the great matter there is as full as it is remarkable. Now it may be hoped things will go on smoothly. I have no manner of imagination that the Earl [of Clarendon] shall ever return again. You and I are not in danger of needing a conference to reconcile us as to the verdict of Aratus. And I think it is easy for either of us to know what the other's judgment will be, if the case be proposed. The Earl of Tweeddale is to be found at the Earl of Lauderdale's lodgings in Whitehall or his house at the upper end of Suffolk Street. It will be worth your pains to talk with him. Your health and your brother's are very precious to me. It is not the first time Marsigni hath deceived his friends. I am indeed sorry for his miscarriage, but no less for his brother's detriment. If there were anything of moment here to entertain you with, I would add it.

Sir Robert Murray to Sir Edward Harley, at Brampton Bryan Castle, to be left with the Postmaster of Ludlow.

[16]73, June 24. [London.]—Mr. Clogie hath not as yet done me the favour to see me, so his missing of your letter makes my loss double. Your brother Robin I have seen in the physician's hands, but Thomas not as yet. I hear of his design, but Dr. Tong settles at Mr. Sadler's house, and I suspect disappoints

him. Stories of the engagements with the Dutch fleet were now too stale and cannot but be fully known to you, but I think the surrender of Maestricht will be new to you, which fell out on Friday last. The Gazette tells you of a most gallant action of the Duke of Monmouth that was the cause of it, for being possessed of that half moon they found a hornwork galled them, whereupon it was stormed and carried with the loss of some two hundred men, but immediately upon it the town treated and had ordinary honourable conditions and 5,000 foot and 1,000 horse they say marched out of it. It will be new to you also to tell you that Mr. de Schomberg arrived here yesterday, but what resolution will be taken now that the Duke goes is not yet told. The "Tombeau de Contraiverses" is printed in English, but not that translation, you know of another prevented it. I have not yet had the opportunity to get you an answer to your question about your mercurial medicine, but I have myself no kindness for it, but I think I may get you a more skilful judgment of it than mine. You will have heard of the change of the Lord Treasurer, and its consequences.

Dr. G[ilbert] Burnet to Sir Edward Harley, to be left with the Postmaster at Ludlow.

[1682-3,] February 15.—The small civilities which I endeavoured to pay to your most deserving son are overpaid when they are remembered. His own merit gives him a just title to much more than I could ever express, and I confess I never saw him but with a secret joy in my heart when I observed so many fair and excellent beginnings in him, which makes me hope he is born to be a blessing to the rising generation, and that all the few remnants of virtue and piety that are yet left are not like to go off the stage so soon but that some young men grow up to fill the rooms of those that must go off ere long. I am very glad you are so favourable as to approve those short remarks I ventured to make on the letter of the French clergy. They had the luck to be so favourably received by those in Paris that understand English that those who were writing answers gave over, and pressed the hasting a translation of that little book into French which is now printed. You are certainly in the right when you observe that the cruelty of that church is neither to be appropriated to the order of the Jesuits nor to the Spanish nation, though the sourness of the latter and the forwardness of the other have made both more barefaced than the rest. Their cruel doctrines and practices began about 350 years before the Order of Jesuits was formed and as France was the first scene of them so it is no wonder they should now lick up that vomit while they retain the same spirit and principles. I am at present at a stand as to that design of which I spoke to your son, other things having intervened, but whenever I return to it I will be sure to make my application to you for such assistances as you can afford me, being very well assured of your zeal for helping forward all such undertakings. I pray God preserve you

long to be such a support and honour as you are to the reformed religion and make your son to inherit your qualities as well as he is to do your fortunes, and am with all due esteem and acknowledgment, &c.

Postscript.—My most humble and most affectionate service to your son.

Dr. G[ilbert] Burnet to Sir Edward Harley, recommended to the Postmaster at Ludlow.

[1683,] May 26.—I delayed answering yours till the end of the week hoping by that time to be able to give you some account of those who are on their journey hither from Scotland, but my last letters tell me that one of them will not be here till the end of the next week and the other not for a week or two after.

I shall take care that the person I recommend to Sir Thomas Wilbraham have the qualification my Lady desires, but I desire to know whether I shall soon after his coming hither send him down or if I may not keep him here a month to help him to wear off any roughness that may be in his accent. I beg you will give my most humble service to Mr. Newport, I take it for a very great honour that he is pleased to allow me to recommend a chaplain to him. I shall answer for it he shall be both a good and a learned man, and a true protestant and sincerely, though not furiously, of the church of England. The person that is coming up is of great discretion, as well as otherwise of excellent parts, and will, I hope, soon get over the accent of his country. I ought to say a great deal in acknowledgment to yourself for your generous charity towards my countrymen, who have certainly left all they had in this world upon the account of their conscience when they had no reason to look for so good a provision as many of them have found in England. There is good reason to hope they will adhere to the last who have showed their steadiness so early, and those who have felt the smart of rigour upon themselves are not likely to be carried with a tide of severity against their brethren that differ from them. My last letters from France are the saddest I have had from thence of a great while, many eminent persons have abjured their religion, three ministers have lately done it of whom Mr. de Mahrs, minister of Orleans, is the most remarkable; he was a man of great parts and hitherto of an exemplary life. One De Brues, an advocate at Montpellier that answered the Bishop of Condom's book, has also turned and refuted himself, and it is thought many thousands will follow their example.

This affects me more than all their severities, which do likewise every day increase, for I have received this day an edict of the 5th of May, that if any papist comes within any of their temples the minister shall be condemned to the *amende honorable* to perpetual banishment and confiscation of his goods. This is since by a private order thus explained that in every church there shall be one pew or bank for such catholics as shall be sent to hear and observe the sermon, but the edict is to take place

against all that come except those of this pew, so that any malicious papist by going to one of their churches has it in his power to bring all this misery on them. I wish we may all have that tender sense of their condition that may prepare us for the like when it shall come to our turn. I give my most faithful service to your worthy son, and am with a deep respect, &c.

Dr. G[ilbert] Burnet to Sir Edward Harley, to be left with the Postmaster at Ludlow.

1683, June 5.—I must begin with my humble thanks for your kind present of cider which I had to-day. There was company with me when it was brought in, so I called for a bottle of it and we all agreed that it was incomparably good.

This morning the gentleman came to me whom I am to recommend to Sir Thomas Wilbraham. Upon a long conversation with him I find him to be a truly mortified and serious as well as an able man, and I hope within a month he will have so shaken off the rudeness of his dialect that his pronunciation shall not be at all offensive, but by that time I must desire your directions how I shall address him to that noble family where he is to serve as chaplain. There is one either on his journey or very near it that I intend to send to Mr. Newport; it is not he I expected that comes but indeed another sort of a man, one whom I have these twelve years since I first knew him reckoned among the worthiest of the clergy I have ever been acquainted with. He has always lived just upon the border of England, so that I know his accent will have very little of his country. He had a great living both for the extent of his parish and for the profits, but he minded the one so much and the other so little that he was a great and shining light in that country. He is above forty but has the gravity of threescore. I doubt not but that honourable person will be very well satisfied with him and will find it a blessing to have such a one in his family.

But besides these who are all unmarried there are two very eminent persons that are married who would be very glad if a door were opened for them to labour in the ministry, and though of those who are thus turned out the livings were at least 60*l.* a year and some above 120*l.*, yet they who have abandoned all rather than sin against their conscience do not look at high things in this world but will be easily satisfied with a moderate competency. You see how much I build on your goodness and your zeal for the public good as well as your compassion for all good men that fall under such difficulties. I add no more but the continuance of my faithfullest and tenderest services to your son, and beg you will ever look upon me as one that is in a very particular manner, etc.

The Same to the Same.

[1683,] July 19.—I hope you will forgive a very short letter now, for my attendance on my Lord Russell as it takes up the

greatest part of my time so it fills all my thoughts. I shall only say this of him, that in my whole life I never saw so much of the worthiness of a brave man and of the greatness of an excellent christian met together as are in him. He will die clearing himself of all those crimes for which he is condemned except only the concealment of some treasonable propositions which he opposed to that degree that they were laid aside. He has spoken to me of many of his friends whom he thought I knew and among others with great tenderness of his cousin Mr. Newport, and rejoices much at his recovery and that good temper of mind he is in. Two days ago the gentleman came hither whom I intend to recommend to him. I have not yet seen him but he left word he would be ready when I should desire him to go down, so a fortnight hence he shall come down, by the grace of God, as he I recommended to Sir Thomas Wilbraham shall go in the second coach that goes from hence next week and I shall follow your orders of writing first by the post to Sir Thomas. I have written all this not without great uneasiness, so I only add besides my faithfullest service to your son that I am, &c.

Dr. G[ilbert] Burnet to Sir Edward Harley, to be left with the Postmaster at Ludlow.

[1683,] August 18.—I cannot write any long letter, being to go a short journey for a few weeks over into France, having obtained a pass for it, so that I have several little things upon my hand. I intend to come back, if it please God, by the beginning of the Michaelmas term, and then I shall give you a more particular account of the state of the protestants of France. In the meanwhile I beg you will give my most humble service to Mr. Newport, for whom I will leave a letter which his chaplain will bring to him within a few days. I hope you will forgive a short letter and believe that I am both your son's, &c.

The Same to the Same.

[1683,] November 20.—I remember you told me you had a copy of Mr. Cloggy's [Clogie's] life of Bishop Beadle [*sic*, Bedell] and in the leisure that my retirement is like to procure me this winter I intend to look over that and see what I can make of it, so if you will do me the favour to let me have the sight of that book a few weeks I shall certainly return it to you again and shall send you with it the form in which I will cast it that it may be communicated to the author. I shall mix no other matter with this, being resolved for some time to withdraw myself from all the conversation and table of the world, so that I neither know nor will know what is doing abroad, but I will ever consider myself as particularly happy in the goodness you are pleased to have for me and will be much joyed to hear of the two chaplains that by your means I recommended have answered expectation or not. I give my most faithful service to your son and am, &c.

Dr. G[ilbert] Burnet to [Sir Edward Harley].

1683, December 8.—I most humbly thank you for the kind invitation with which you honoured me in that letter which your son brought me, and if I were master of my own time I would very cheerfully have embraced the opportunity of enjoying so much satisfaction and reaping so much advantage, but though it has been thought fit to hinder my going on in a lecture at St. Clements, yet I continue at the Rolls as formerly. Last night I had another from you with one inclosed from Mr. Cloggy, which I will communicate with Mr. Fraser, and then will set about it very suddenly and as soon as I have put it in order I will transmit all to Mr. Cloggy before ever thinking of putting anything under the press. I shall in the next place beg leave to ask you whether Mr. Newport and Sir Thomas Wilbraham are well satisfied with the persons I presumed to recommend to them and if there is anything of which it may be fit to advertise them, for strangers are apt to commit errors out of ignorance. I know you expect nothing from me of public affairs and indeed though I had a mind to write concerning them I know so very little that I could not give any good account of them. This is still certain the more we look into the methods of divine providence we must say clouds and darkness are round about him, but when we shall see through these we shall be fully satisfied with this that righteousness and judgment are the habitation of, or rather the establishment and basis of, his throne. I rejoice very much to find myself so happy in the kind remembrances of two persons whom I value so highly as I do yourself and your son, and am with great fidelity, &c.

Dr. G[ilbert] Burnet to Sir Edward Harley. Recommended to the Postmaster at Ludlow.

[1684,] January 22.—I most humbly thank you for your kind present and I assure you the founder is not forgotten, though without any such remembrance I have such deep impressions of your worth on my mind and count myself so happy in the share you are pleased to allow me in your good opinion that I please myself not a little in so great an honour. I have now writ over Bishop Bedell's life, but have varied it so much from the dress Mr. Cloggy put it in that I am afraid he will think I have stripped it too much of the ornaments with which he clothed it. As soon as it is copied out I will send it to him, and I beg the favour of you that you will desire him to bring it to you when he gets it, for I believe I may need your assistance to make him pardon the alterations that I have made in it. I wish you and your worthy son and your whole family a very happy year, and am with much gratitude, &c.

Dr. G[ilbert] Burnet to Sir Edward Harley.

[1684 ?] April 3.—I take the liberty to ask you whether two bundles of papers which I sent above six weeks ago directed for

Mr. Cloggy, but to be left at your house, came safe through or not, for though few things miscarry that are sent by the carriers, yet my not hearing from Mr. Cloggy gives me some apprehensions that they are not come to his hands. I have since that time got a great many of Bishop Bedell's letters to Archbishop Ussher which are indeed worthy of him, and of which if I print the life I will print a great many, for they relate to the chief matters in it, in particular two long ones of which the one is about pluralities and the other the spiritual courts. Whether Mr. Cloggy's delaying to answer may not flow from his dislike of the method I have put it in and the uneasiness he finds in telling me so much I cannot tell, but if this is the truth pray tell him that he may be very free with me for I will not take it amiss from him, nor will I stir one step but with his approbation. I humbly beg your pardon for giving you this trouble, to which I only add my most humble service to your son, and that I am with great duty, &c.

Dr. G[ilbert] Burnet to Sir Edward Harley, to be left with the Postmaster at Ludlow.

1684-5, January 10.—I am much beholding to you for the friendly concern that you are pleased to express for me, and few things can rejoice me more than to find that I have been some way useful to any person in the best and most important of all other things. Now it has pleased God so to order it by his providence that the employment in which I was* is fallen by the good old man's death, so that if I had been let alone I must have been by this time in the same state in which I am. I hope I shall be a gainer by my silence, and I do not think that any other person can lose much by it. To be forced to retire into one's own mind and to examine all that one has said as well as the principles and motives from which it has proceeded, may prove both a blessing to one's self and in due time, that is in God's time, may be of some advantage to others. I am very glad that you are like to dispose of your son so much to your satisfaction. I am confident there is a blessing in store for him, he looks so little like the rest of the youth of the age, and I hope all these good seeds in him will grow up to a plentiful harvest. I pray God to prosper all he sets about, and in this more particularly upon which so much depends.

I am very sorry for good Mr. Garden's death, for the world can very ill spare such men. He is, I am sure, vastly a gainer by his change. As for one to succeed him, I shall endeavour to supply Mr. Popham very speedily with one for whom I can answer in all respects. There is one that has been for some time in my house of whose piety and discretion as well as his learning I can say a great deal. I am under half an engagement for him another way, but I have writ to know whether I may dispose of him this way or not, and within a week

*The Preachership at the Rolls from which Burnet had recently been removed and his appointment to which would have lapsed by the death of the Master of the Rolls, Sir Harbottle Grimston, a few days before the date of this letter.

will expect an answer; if I cannot send him I will send another that was in office in Scotland and left his church upon the Test. I carried him with me to France last year, from whence he is lately returned; he is also both a good, a wise and a learned young man, so you shall be sure of the one or the other of these persons. The former is not yet in orders, so either a title is to be sent hither for qualifying him to be ordained, or he must go as Mr. Garden did and be ordained by the Bishop of Gloucester. I desire to know how soon you would have the person sent down, and that you will write me the address to Mr. Popham's house. I am still more and more obliged to be with all humble respect, &c.

Dr. G[ilbert] Burnet to Sir Edward Harley.

[1685,] February 12.—When I writ to you three weeks ago I was not then determined as to the person whom I should recommend to you for supplying Mr. Garden's room, and the great change that has been here had driven almost all other thoughts out of my mind, but without entering into melancholy reflections upon so great a turn of divine providence, which are fitter exercises for a closet than for a letter, I shall now crave leave to tell you that I have disengaged the young man that is in my house from the employment to which I had half promised him, so he shall be ready upon a week's warning to go to Mr. Popham's. He is a learned and pious man as most of his age that I have known for many years, and he is a very prudent and discreet person, so that I can answer very confidently for him; he is not yet in orders, but upon the procuring a title for him as was done for Mr. Garden I know the Bishop of Gloucester will ordain him. I beg that you will be pleased to let me know when his going down will be expected and that you will also let me know by what conveyance he is to go to Mr. Popham's. I think to go for some time beyond seas within a few weeks, which makes me desirous to see this affair at an end before I go. I give my most humble service to your worthy son and am, &c.

John Locke to Sir Edward Harley, M.P., at Brampton, near Ludlow.

[16]94, September 25. London.—Though I cannot doubt but you are assured there is nobody more your servant than I, yet I cannot but think a letter from me, especially of the kind this will be, will somewhat surprise you, for it is no less than to desire you lay by all that country business which you had reserved to the little time is now between this and the Parliament, and to come up to town immediately. So bold a presumption as this without farther explaining myself will possibly appear very odd to you, and I myself think it so extravagant that I should not venture to send it you were I not satisfied I should be able to justify myself to you for having done it, when you come to town, and should condemn myself for having failed in that respect and

service which I owe you if I had done otherwise. It is but a little anticipating your journey up to the Parliament, and I conclude you will when you are here think it time not lost. I therefore earnestly press you again, and if you do not think me a vain man I beseech you to believe that I would not have writ to you this fashion had I not had some reason. I should be very glad to see you here without any answer, but if you think fit to honour me with a line or two, pray let it be to assure me of your being speedily here.

Postscript.—I lodge at Mr. Pawlings, over against the Plough Inn in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields.

Sir Josiah Child to John Morley, junior, at Halsted in Essex.

1694, October 26. Wanstead.—Being returned to Wanstead I think it necessary to desire you to hasten in my tithes, that at this time of general scarcity for money that sum abating your collection may go in part of my new purchase of the farm you last sold me, and pray take of my cousin Sparrow what is just equally with other men ; in matters of right friendship and relation having no place, neither did I ever expect it from a brother in the like case, the old saying is allowed among all relations 'what I buy I buy, and what I give I give.'

If you have bought the other farm near my park I shall readily pay for it though much more money is got by the present funds then the best bargains of land.

Of Mr. Gray's house and the Butt yard upon further enquiry I have no opinion at all, not thinking it worth above 7*l.* per annum, except one should set up for building of cottages, which you know I never had a mind to.

George Savile, Marquis of Halifax, to Mr. [Robert?] Harley.

Monday morning.—I would know, sir, whether after your morning sacrifice for the public, you can allow yourself an idle part of a day so as to call upon me at half an hour past one, and make a trip to Acton this fine day, where we will eat a bunch of grapes to whet us for a piece of mutton at eight of clock when we return. I would know whether you would have a third, to be sure I want nobody when I have Mr. Harley.

The Duke of Shrewsbury, Secretary of State, to [Robert] Harley.

1694, October 4.—The time for the meeting of the Parliament drawing near occasions my renewing a request I made before to you, that I might discourse with yourself and Mr. Foley. If you continue disposed to allow me that favour I will be at home and alone any hour upon Saturday and Sunday in the afternoon that shall be convenient to you.

Postscript.—I live now in St. James's Square.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY, Secretary of State, to [ROBERT] HARLEY.

1694, November 6. Whitehall.—If it may suit with yours and Mr. Foley's conveniency, my Lord Godolphin and I are desirous to discourse again with you upon the same subject we last met about. If to-morrow at six in the evening be a convenient time for Mr. Foley and you, my Lord Godolphin and I will be at that time at my house in the Square; but if you are otherwise engaged at that time, I desire the favour of a line from you to appoint any other hour, place, or day.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1694, November 20.—I am 'extream' sorry I was not at home when you did me the favour yesterday to call. I should be glad if it would suit with convenience to call here this evening about seven o'clock, because I would be glad to discourse with you, and have your opinion in relation to some matters that deserve an immediate consideration. If I name a time inconvenient to your affairs, I desire you will be so kind and so free as to name any other this evening or to-morrow morning.

[ROBERT HARLEY to the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.]*

1701, August 11.—When I first resolved to write to your Grace I put my name to the letter, and also inserted some particular passage which had passed between your Grace and myself formerly, but before I sent it away I altered that resolution, not out of any apprehension that I have done anything but my duty, and what becomes an honest man and a christian, but because I see your Grace is in the hands of some men who have neither religion nor common morality, and should you show them the letter or they get it into their hands, which is very common with them, it is plain they would make no scruple of prevailing with you to expose yourself and torment me, and though I shall readily own this if charged with it, yet I do not think I am obliged to court my own trouble. Therefore I have transcribed the letter over again, and altered my hand and left out my name and some few passages which would make your Grace easily know who I am. Thus far I will let you know that I am a lay gentleman, that my mind as well as my fortune render me independent any other way than as obliged by the laws of the land, and the duty of a good christian. I have long lamented the scandalous heats which have been of late amongst churchmen, and upon all occasions have taken your Grace's part in discourse relating to the affairs of the Convocation, in hope that some happy hours would fall out to make up this breach; and it has been owing to my influence that many sober clergymen

*We print this document as it stands in the chronological arrangement of the papers, but there is no other paper throwing any light on the circumstances in which it was written, or showing that the original letter of which this is a draft or copy ever reached Archbishop Tenison's hands. The deprivation of Dr. Watson, Bishop of St. David's, and subsequent proceedings relating thereto, seem to be the subject of the letter.

here in my neighbourhood have not hitherto engaged themselves in this affair. But now, my Lord, I must speak plainly to you from the bitterness of my soul, that not only my hopes of healing are vanished, but I look upon a dismal prospect of ruin to christianity and even morality.

In the name of God what did you mean to send a firebrand through all your province, and which I am very well assured you had no leave for doing, first to procure and indite such a letter which treats clergymen with such language as no gentleman gives to any one; were you afraid that people would have complied, I know that was the fear of some people, but to be plain you have brought this home to us laymen and we must find a remedy. I must tell you what you have nobody else faithful enough to do it; you are entirely under the influence of those who have not only discharged themselves from all obligations of religion, but also have for many years been promoting, first Socinianism then Arianism and now Deism in the state, they have propagated notions which destroy all government; in order to perfect that, they set up for notions which destroy all religion and so consequently dissolve the bonds of all society. These are the people who hire the writers, nay revise the books themselves, at whose charges these books are printed, and great numbers given away. These are the men who govern you, who recommend clergymen to you, who laugh at you—to my knowledge—for it after; I heard one myself expose you for saying to an atheistical peer, 'Pray my Lord have a care of yourself, good men are scarce, my good Lord Macclesfield is gone.' Could any one that had common regard to his own reputation pick out two such profligate creatures. And for your clergy counsellors two or three who would engross preferments into their own hands, together with that mad Bishop of Sarum who has been contemned by all parties and all times for his intemperate fury as well as his immoralities and his falsehood.

But my Lord give me leave to expostulate freely with you, and to lay before you the danger you are flying yourself and all in. I would use the words of our English Seneca to Archbishop Laud, and the case is pretty parallel. I do believe your Grace is a true Christian, and it is plain that Laud was no Papist, yet he did their business [as] effectually for them as if he were. This enraged them, and united people against him, and the torrent ran so strong I need not mention the direful consequences.

If you are not a Sadducee what do you in their tents? be either a bird or a beast, part either with your wings or your claws. If you will be amongst the Sadducees quit the clergy, but now under your protection and shadow all these execrable heresies grow up and are nourished whilst you are disputing whether a lower house of Convocation can adjourn themselves. Oh, ridiculous! and yet it now appears that they had even abstained from that, and yet you would not let them alone, so that it is very clear those who 'act' you mean something else, and your trumping up a Legatine power, when you sit only by virtue of the Queen's writ, which last session you sufficiently broke through. It is time for

the laity to examine this pretended power, and not leave it to the arbitrary will of a Metropolitan to deprive his com-bishops without law or example, to save one equally guilty.

Draft or Copy in Harley's handwriting.

H[enry] St. John to [Robert Harley].

1701, December 26.—Dear Sir, To tell you that I long extremely to see you is doing a very unfashionable thing, for it is professing a great truth.

I came this morning to town, and as soon as I received your letter went to wait upon you, but unfortunately for me you was gone out. This evening I am necessarily obliged to return to Battersea, but to-morrow I will come to London for good and all if possible; however, Monday at farthest I will wait on you. Do me the justice to believe me, Dear Mr. Harlay (*sic*), your &c.

The Duke of Marlborough to Lord ——.

1703, June 10, n.s. Hannef.—I have had the honour of yours, and I do assure you I shall always be glad of any occasion that may convince you of the esteem and friendship I have for your Lordship. Ever since the Treaty of Portugal has been mentioned I have never heard otherways but that the Duke of Schomberg was to have that command, for besides his experience his name must be of great use in that country.

If he does not go I think her Majesty can't do better than to employ my Lord Rivers, who I am sure will be careful of her Majesty's and the Nation's honour.

The army here being obliged to govern themselves by what is doing in Brabant makes me very impatient of hearing they have begun to act.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to [Robert Harley].

1703, August 11, n.s. Rome.—I cannot express how agreeably I was surprised by your kind remembrance and obliging letter of the 3rd June, which together with the manuscript I did not receive till two days ago. At the same time Mr. Walsh also sent me so engaging a message from you that all together I am so confounded that I can only say that, as from my first acquaintance with Mr. Harley I had a most sincere esteem and friendship for him, so these additional obligations to the others I have formerly received make me so entirely his humble servant that there is nothing I desire more than an occasion of showing how much I am so, and I hope in a few months to have an opportunity to assure him the same by word of mouth.

Our letters had been stopped for above a month by the enemy's troops in the Tyrol, and coming this week four posts together I have had my time so taken up in answering my friends' letters that I have not had leisure to see the Library keeper of the Vatican, nor give him the MS. you favoured me

with. Upon the encouragement you give me, if he should desire anything more out of the Cotton Library upon the same subject, I will take the liberty to trouble you upon it.

They are very busy here about the Calendar, they see themselves in an error but want knowledge to get out of it; for I can assure you learning is very rare in this country, and will be rarer if the Cardinal Norris die, as they say he must of a dropsical distemper very soon, he being one of the only Prelates that makes a figure, who has a reputation for learning among them, and was at the head of those now employed in reforming the Calendar. It is probable they have better treatises upon this subject in the Vatican Library, where I believe there may be very valuable books, but they know little of them, looking but seldom into them. Here they get more preferment by ignorance and submission than in other countries they do by labour and learning; and it is very politic in them to encourage this laziness, for these are people who have naturally very good wits, and should they add a little knowledge and enquiry, the system of this Court and Church could not stand long.

If there were anything in this part of the world I could serve you in, as books, manuscripts, prints, pictures, medals, &c., I should take it for a great favour if with all freedom you would employ your most faithful and obedient servant.

H. St. John to [Robert Harley].

1703, September 25.—That quiet which you are gone to seek in the country and which you enjoy so little of in town had not been thus early disturbed by me if I had not met two days ago M. Vriebergen, the Dutch minister, who seeming very desirous you should know what he did not care to write, lest you should think he gave himself airs of familiarity (I use his own expression), I told him that, as those who have least to say affect correspondence most, so I did sometimes trouble you with my epistles; and that if he pleased to tell me what it was, I would write it to you as a thing I had heard and believed true. It is in short this—the States gave a plan to Mr. Hill wherein they proposed to have twelve of their ships of the line of battle and twenty of ours left this winter in Portugal, and next spring to augment these to forty-eight by six Dutch to ten English. In order to this they have sent orders to Allemonde in his return to leave six ships at Lisbon, they have directed their Admiralty to prepare stores of all kinds for refitting there, and their envoys have instructions to press the King of Portugal for magazines and other conveniences. He has talked of this scheme to the Prophet [ ], who does not think it proper that our seamen should spend their money out of England, which they must do if they lie any time to refit at Lisbon. I perceive by your countryman J. B[urchett?] this has been under consideration, and the result was that they could not afford so many for this winter's service in those parts.

There is a Dutch post just now come in, Limburgh is taken and the garrison are prisoners of war. The King of Spain set out from Vienna the 9th o.s., and Stirum has had a pretty sharp dispute with the French and Bavarians. He attacked the Marquis d' Usson, who came on one side, and beat him; but the Marshal [Villars] and the Elector [of Bavaria] coming on the other he was forced to retreat, which he did with very little loss. The Duke of Vendôme is retired from Trent and marches back to Italy; Stepney writes that his bombs have not done 10,000 florins worth of damage.

I give you frequent opportunities of showing your virtues, your patience I often exercise, your charity will appear in forgiving the length and impertinence of this letter, and your justice in believing me, Dear Mr. Harlay, your &c.

Postscript.—To-morrow the Westminster scholar dines with me.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1703, October 11, N.S. Alderbeeston.—I have received the favour of yours of the 2nd instant [September], and take it very kindly that you do me the justice to believe I endeavour to employ my time where it may be most useful to the public, and are pleased so readily to excuse my not troubling you with my letters, which I would not however omit, were I not satisfied that my Lord Treasurer communicates mine to you, and that you are informed from other hands of our motions here.

I am sensibly concerned at what you mention of the heats that continue between the two parties, and should esteem it the greatest happiness of my life if I could any way contribute towards the allaying them. Upon this occasion you will give me leave to be so free as to tell you that what you write confirms me very much in the desire I have for some time had of retiring from these uneasy and troublesome broils. However, I shall never be wanting in my duty to her Majesty and my country wherever my endeavours may be thought useful, and I must add without a compliment that my greatest ease and satisfaction is in the hopes I have from Lord Treasurer's and your abilities and prudent managements of these matters, wherein upon my return I shall be ready to give my assistance and to be solely governed by yours and his Lordship's good advice, nor do I fail upon all occasions that offer with our friends here, who have any relation to the Court of Hanover, to put all things in the truest light.

I am going in a fortnight to the Hague, and shall be obliged to stay four or five days before I embark for England, where I long to embrace you.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1703, December 15, N.S. Rome.—Having understood that several 'males' have been taken by the French near Augsbourg, as well going to, as coming from, Holland, lest one I writ about a month since should have miscarried, I desire your assistance to Mr. Vernon in case he should want it this winter, &c.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1704, May 21. Sunday at two.—'Tis a pretty hard matter to please everybody, and especially those who will neither lead nor drive. I speak now of some of the chiefs of Westminster Hall, who if they are angry may thank themselves.

I must own to you, I have not the secret nor never can have, who won't tell it though they are pressed to do it, and yet will take it ill of one, if one does not find it out.

I doubt indeed the enemy may have been [more?] industrious than we, but I cannot reproach myself for not having done my part. I never was near so industrious before in my life, and shall be very glad never to have occasion of being so again.

If it be an objection that a Speaker should not be proposed by any in the Queen's service, I suppose that may be easily avoided by a meeting beforehand of those who will join heartily in carrying on the Queen's service, and the public business; but [if?] that meeting be once settled, I despair of any good to come. I was very glad to see Mr. Comptroller [Mansell] at the Chapel just now, but, by what you write and some other observations, I am afraid Mr. Solicitor [Harcourt] is not very right. I have scarce had the favour of one word from him since he was elected into the parliament, though it cost me more pains than to choose Mr. Poley.

Mr. Churchill tells me Col. Lee is in town, he has spoken to him, but you must speak to him too. I have spoken myself with Mr. Brewer this morning.

If you are not otherwise engaged, I should be glad to carry you this evening to Kensington between five and six.

The Same to the Same.

1704, June 9. Windsor.—Her Majesty seemed to be willing you should be here Sunday to take her orders upon the Scotch memorial about the plot. However, if you should find it any way inconvenient to come, I can easily make your excuse.

If the letters sent by Duke Hamilton to the post house at Berwick can be looked into without his coming to know it, it would be an omission scarcely excusable not to do it.

The Dean of Carlisle [Graham], who is here now attending the Queen, has notice that the Dean of Wells [Bathurst] has broken his thigh, who was before an old dying man, and this accident Mr. Dean *hopes* will make an end of him.

In that case would Dr. Atterbury care to be Dean of Carlisle? And would Sir Chr. Musgrave like him there, in case we like Sir Chr.?

The Duke of Shrewsbury to Secretary Harley.

1704, June 28, n.s. Rome.—We have this post received the news that her Majesty has been pleased to place the seals of

Secretary of State in your hands, at which I have so great satisfaction that I cannot forbear troubling you with a letter of congratulation. At the same time I am sensible the public has more reason to rejoice than you who will enter into an employment of great trouble, but the superiority of your genius will make that easy to you which others have found vexatious.

I shall not omit this occasion to give you my most humble thanks for your kindness and protection to Mr. Vernon.

I have been here so long that I believe people begin to think I intend no more to return. I had designed it this spring, when an unexpected relapse after many months' good health forced me to defer my journey. I will no more set a time, but assure you it shall be as soon as my health and the season will permit, and perhaps sooner than I am expected. However in all places, I assure you, I am a true Englishman and wish well to all who are so, and in a more particular manner am your &c.

Lord Godolphin to [Robert Harley].

1704, June 28. Windsor.—I have the favour of yours of the 27th, and have read to the Queen the Earl of Jersey's letter to you, and one of the same tenor to myself; as also Lucan's information, which latter she has commanded me to send to the Chancellor of Scotland with her Majesty's directions to cause the person mentioned in it to be searched for with all care and diligence, and to be forthwith seized and examined.

I have likewise received her commands to write as I have done to my Lord Seafield in favour of my Lord Leven, though the same reason still subsists which made her decline to grant the remission desired, viz., that she thought it was more for his service and her own that all matters of that nature should come free and unprejudiced to the consideration of the parliament. To this purpose I have also written the enclosed to Lord Leven which I must beg your favour to send him; and that you would send the enclosed to Lord Seafield to Sir Thomas Frankland to put under his cover to Norwich as usual.

Ought not Capt. Byron, the commander of the yacht, to be examined why he refused the four musketeers demanded by Lucan for the seizing Sir G. Maxwell and his companions? I find it seemed to him that he could not answer the doing it, but I confess it seems to me that it is harder to answer the not doing it.

The Queen tells me the Prince will be next Monday at Westminster Hall, and her Majesty designing to dine that day at Kensington, and to stay there three or four days will not give the Lords the trouble of coming hither next Sunday. Pray be pleased to acquaint Mr. Secretary Hedges with this for fear a summons should go from the Office by mistake.

Postscript.—I wish you much joy of my Lady Dorchester's acquaintance at the Office.

Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley, Secretary.

1704, June 29. Windsor.—I should not have troubled you again so soon but that the enclosed print, more scandalous in

my opinion than the 'Observator' himself [Tutchin], is fallen into my hands. I don't know what course can be taken with effect to find out the author; but I think no pains or expense could be, or be thought, too much to bring him to the punishment he deserves.

At the same time I can't but take notice from the common news-letters that Mr. Attorney [Northey] has no great success in his prosecutions of any kind, but this magnifying of France is a thing so odious in England, that I can't think any jury would acquit this man if discovered.

H. St. John to [Robert Harley].

1704, July 13.—I have received from Mr. Bracebridge, the justice of peace that committed Lieut. Lesley, and Sir Clement Fisher, two letters in answer to those which I writ in pursuance of her Majesty's directions signified to me by yours. You will find in them and the affidavits annexed a full and authentic account of that whole matter. I shall be in town in a few days to receive your further directions in this or any other thing.

Enclosure 1.

Sir C[lement] Fisher to [Secretary St. John].

1704, July 8.—About three o'clock in the afternoon of May 29, the constable of Meriden came in great haste to my house and desired to me to appear and assist him in keeping the peace betwixt some soldiers and his townsmen. Upon this Sir William Wheeler a gentleman of this country (that was with me on a visit) and I went with a design to prevent the mischief, but before we met the soldiers they and the countrymen had fought, and several were hurt and wounded on both sides. Lieut. Lesley told me they were on the Queen's service and had done nothing but what they had orders for. I desired him to show me those orders; he gave me a paper which only directed him to list such men as came to him voluntarily. I told him I heard he had forced several men along with them, and had very much exceeded those orders.

Whilst we had this dispute there was an outcry that one of the country people was dead, and that two of them were run through the body, and one in the thigh, and that the third borough who came to the constable's assistance was almost knocked on the head. This made the neighbouring people flock together to revenge their neighbours' quarrel upon the officers and soldiers, and they were coming with great eagerness to fall on them. I used all the argument I could to dissuade them from such an attempt and told them I would have the officer secured that they might have their remedy according to law. The lieutenant afterwards submitted to the constable and was taken before Mr. Bracebridge. The soldiers had four men in their

custody taken by force, viz., an Irishman, a French watchmaker, Mr. Ebborn's servant, and Richard Smith, a farmer.

Enclosure 2.

Copies of affidavits relating to the above disturbance, certified by Sam. Bracebridge.

LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY, Secretary.

1704, July 19. Windsor.—I have the favour of yours of last night with the enclosed, which I have laid before the Queen.

The letter intercepted to Poland seems to be matter of curiosity only, what relates to Scotland in it had I believe been in their thoughts, or something of that kind, before the discovery of Frazer's plot.

What Mr. Poley writes is unintelligible, the former part does not cohere with the latter; but it confirms he is not fit to continue there [at Hanover].

I believe your information is right of Duchess Hamilton's inclinations and her influence upon her son's, but as to the reconcilement and union of the two Dukes of H[amilton] and Qu[eensberry], it may be negotiated by Lord Stair, or some common friend, but it will scarce be owned by Qu.

I believe the news Mr. Vrybergh has told you, because if it were not so, we must have had an express. God send us good news from Augsburg!

I don't by Mr. Secretary Hedges' news paper perceive that in France it was expected M. Tallard could join before the 8th of August, our 28th of July. If that be true it leaves room for much to be done in the meantime.

The same French newspaper makes me very much of opinion there will be a battle at sea. I don't know but that it might be reasonable in that view, for the Prince's Council to consider of sending such stores as are like to be most necessary after an engagement, to Lisbon by this convoy. By speaking with Sir D. M[itchell] or Mr. [George] Churchill, you will judge whether this is proper to be done, or sufficiently done already.

[ROBERT HARLEY to LORD GODOLPHIN.]

1704, July 21.—I send your Lordship enclosed two letters from the Duke of Marlborough of the 16th and 20th inst. [N.S.], with the original letters from the Emperor and the Elector Palatine to his Grace. I will bring to-morrow a translation of the Latin letter for her Majesty, and another for the Duchess of M.; and then I think after they have been read to the Lords the originals should be delivered to my Lady Duchess. I send Davenant's letter that you may see what news they had there [Frankfort?]; also Mr. Robinson's, which is very serious and deserves consideration; and the Lord Raby's, because that has a project of making the treaty there. Mr. Stepney's private letter is herewith enclosed, and Mr. Stanhope's long one with nothing in it.

I am sure your Lordship can in a much better manner lay the Duke of Marlborough's letters before her Majesty; I beg also you would with my most humble duty lay the rest before the Queen.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1704, July 31, half-an-hour past 5. Windsor.—The messenger brought me yours at five. I am very glad to hear you are like to make so considerable a discovery.

I return you the blank warrant signed by the Queen for D[e Foe?]'s pardon. Her Majesty commands me to tell you she approves entirely of what you have promised him, and will make it good. She resolves to be to-morrow in the evening at Kensington.

[The Same to the Same.]

1704, August 4.—The Queen is very sorry for the accident which has lately happened by the misbehaviour of a 'Swedish Captain' [*altered by Harley to* 'the Captain of a Swedish man of war'], and hopes the King of Sweden will give him the punishment due to his fault, to avoid future inconveniences of this nature, which cannot fail to happen whenever the due respect is denied to the right of her Majesty's flag.

[The Same to the Same.]

1704, August 13. Windsor.—Her Majesty is very sensible of the great trouble you have in this affair, and very easy in your staying at London till it be ended.

She asked me whether the Archbishop had taken any care about a thanksgiving day for the victory [of Blenheim]. I told her I had not seen him since the news came, but that I hoped he would think this success considerable enough for a solemn day to be appointed for the observation of it all over England at once.

[The Same to the Same.]

1704, September 1. Windsor.—I received the favour of yours by the post this morning, with the papers which you enclosed, and return them all in one long bundle by this messenger, as also the letters you sent to the Queen yesterday, with one from the Elector Palatine to her Majesty in a very high strain of compliment. I don't know how far it would be reasonable to print private letters, but I think it might do well, at least, to read that letter of the Elector Palatine to the Lords of the Committee.

I am not very easy at their being so far engaged in the siege of Landau at this time of year; it may draw into length, and delay the Duke of Marlborough's coming over, besides that it

may expose him to new hazards. All these, in my opinion, had been better prevented, and the Empire might have been contented with seeing the French gone back over the Rhine.

The fears of France, as well as the desires of Holland, were that he should have brought his army down the Rhine in boats; and I must own, that for my own part I should have liked that measure better, but I can believe in him (Marlborough) against my own senses.

I enclose to you my letter to him by this post, and I have sent you also in the long bundle a paper signed by the Queen which you sent to her, and which I forgot to mention at the beginning of this letter.

Our sea victory not proving true makes the discourse of that matter very disagreeable; but the news of M. Villadarias's going with a great body of men to retake Gibraltar may turn to the great advantage of our intended expedition in Portugal.

The Queen designing to be Monday at Kensington, I suppose nobody will give themselves the trouble of coming hither Sunday; but I hope I shall hear from you as there shall be occasion.

Postscript.—I wish they had offered more tempting conditions to the Electress of Bavaria.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1704, September 12. Windsor.—I beg leave to trouble you with my letter to the Duke of Marlborough, and the enclosed address, which yesterday I forgot to desire you might be printed in the next 'Gazette.'

This goes by Mr. Churchill, who is in haste.

The Same to the Same.

[1704,]* September 14. Windsor.—An express arrived here this morning from Sir George Rooke, with letters of the 27th of August, old style, off Cape St. Vincent, which say they had had on the 13th a long and a sharp engagement with the French fleet. The not sending away an express till the 27th is, I doubt, a sign we have not much to brag of; however, I don't find we have lost any ship, though several have been ill handled. He says the French are gone back to Toulon without pursuing their intention of passing through the Straits. Upon the whole it seems to have been a sort of a drawn battle where both sides had enough of it, though 'tis plain the fight was at great distance.

We are said to have 2,800 men killed and wounded, but it does not appear by any account I have seen what the enemy's loss has been.

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*This letter bears the date "1705" written some years after apparently by the second Earl of Oxford, but it obviously belongs to the preceding year. Dates, in the same handwriting, are assigned to other undated letters of Lord Godolphin, which are not always correct.

Sir George Rooke may be probably at home in eight or ten days; he has left Sir John Lake (Leake) at Lisbon with a squadron of eleven ships, and with instructions which the better to enable him to pursue, I think the Prince's Council should wait upon the Lords to-morrow morning to receive their direction what stores or provisions might be proper to be dispatched to Sir John Lake, because if Whetston be not yet sailed from Spithead the opportunity of sending them by him might not be lost; Sir John Lake being ordered to take care of Gibraltar as well as of the coast of Portugal.

We are in hopes of Dutch letters to-morrow.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1704, September 15. Windsor.—The Bishop of Carlisle's perverseness [*re* Atterbury as Dean?] is very unaccountable, but a discreet clergyman is almost as rare as a black swan.

When you come to Windsor I shall desire your thoughts as to the persons for secretary and treasurer for the First Fruits and Tenths; my own are at present that they ought not (*sic*) to have but very moderate salaries out of a fund designed for charity.

[The Same to the Same.]

1704, September 27. Windsor.—The Duke of Marlborough says an active stirring minister in Switzerland would be capable of doing more service than anywhere else, both in supporting and encouraging the Protestant Cantons, and in furnishing the quickest intelligence from all parts. I think your cousin Tom Harley the fittest man in the world for that post. The other which we have sometimes talked of is of less consequence, and all that is necessary there is only to have one that won't do hurt; but I would not have you think I will ever press anything that you or he do not like as well as myself.

The truth is, all the ministers sent abroad by my Lord Nottingham have hitherto done us more hurt than good, and the sooner they are all changed, not Mr. Hill excepted, the better.

Sir Cloudesley Shovell being sworn of the Prince's Council, I take it for granted that Sir G. Rooke has laid down, but I have not yet heard how that matter is talked of, or understood at London.

[The Same to the Same.]

1704 [September?].—I am not fond of the proposal of two statues, one for the Queen and th'other for the Duke of Marlborough. What merit soever a subject may have I am doubtful that may set him upon too near an equality with one upon the throne.

My own opinion inclines most to an anniversary thanksgiving by Act of Parliament for so entire a victory, as the most public, the most decent, and the most permanent record of it to posterity, but if this be thought too much because it is upon a

fact happened without the kingdom—whereas our precedents of anniversaries run generally upon occasions at home—I must submit that to better judgments.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1704, October 1. Newmarket.—I am sorry to hear of Mr. St. John's illness; I hope he will soon recover, for I know nobody more able or willing to serve the Queen.

I am mighty uneasy that we are so long without knowing the fate of Barcelona, and can't help fearing 'tis no good sign.

I don't know particularly what Dr. Drake has written, but I can easily imagine his great patron and his great zeal together may have encouraged him to meddle too much.

I am sorry the Queen has given any directions about the Great Seal before my Lord Keeper's coming to town, till when they cannot be executed, but it would have been too ridiculous to have continued it longer in his hands; and whenever the Queen disposes of the Seal, all people won't be pleased, but if her Majesty gives it to the man who is generally thought the most proper for it, she takes the method which is least liable to objection.

I wish with all my heart you may have a good account of the correspondence you labour so much to intercept; that would be very material, but there are so few who can be relied upon—are you sure of Brockett himself?

[Lord Godolphin] to [Robert Harley], Speaker.

1704, November 8.—I was told yesterday that there had been a meeting Monday night at the Fountain Tavern, of one hundred and fifty members, where it was resolved that the money bill should lie upon the table till the bill of Occasional Conformity be passed.

One Gellibrand has been with me this morning, and I find he is able to give great lights into the smugglers' carrying over their correspondence, &c. I have appointed him to be at my house to-morrow night after Council; if you are then at leisure, we will speak to him together.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1704, November 16.—The vote for the 5,000 men will, I hope, have a very good effect abroad for the public service, before the men can come to be made use of.

By the enclosed you sent me the D[uke] of N[ewcastle] seems to be in very good humour; if I was denied to Mr. Monckton, I am very sorry for it, and if he had sent in his name I should certainly have seen him.

I find plainly it was in the power of the Queen's servants to have kept out the Occasional bill. She has not much reason to thank them for it, not that I apprehend they can carry a tack or put a stop to the money, but when the bill is thrown out in the

House of Lords, they will make use of that handle to throw dirt and stones at whom they have a mind to bespatter. This is what I chiefly expect from the event of this bill, and which might have been prevented if these gentlemen had thought fit.

I doubt it will not be seasonable to press the House upon the matter of the subsidies due to the Allies in the last reign; but if you come to the Council this evening I will speak to you of it there; and if you do better, that is, stay at home and take care of yourself, I can, after the Council is up, come to your house, if it be not uneasy to you.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

[1704, December 16.]—I must confess by what was writ the former post, I could not help being under some apprehensions from the proceedings of the House of Commons with reference to the Occasional bill, so that the account you now send me was so much the more welcome; and when I reflect on the dangerous consequences the obstinacy of some people might have produced, I cannot but think this happy turn as great a victory with reference to England as any advantage we have had since I saw you, and I hope everybody will do you the justice to attribute the greatest share of it to your prudent management and zeal for the public. You will see what I write to Lord Treasurer, so shall give you no further trouble.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1704-5, January 11.—I forgot yesterday to give you the enclosed note for Mr. Patterson.

In case the question proposed last night should be agreed to in the House, it not being usual to send a message to either House which is not first considered at Cabinet Council, why might not the Queen return immediately an answer to the purpose following, viz.:—

I am glad to find you have so just a sense of the Duke of Marlborough's merit and services. I should not have delayed to have made him a grant of some house and lands belonging to the Crown, as a proper mark of distinction to remain in his family for perpetuating the memory of his eminent services; but that I find very remote terms granted in the Crown lands, and myself otherways disabled from performing my just intentions in this particular, *without the assistance of the Parliament.*

If any of our company should think these last words, *with a stroke drawn under them*, not full enough, they may be easily made stronger.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to SECRETARY HARLEY.]

1704-5, February 12. From the D[uke of] Marlb[orough's] lodgings, at ten.—I return you Ormiston's letter; he is in the right, in every tittle of it.

Pray make my humble excuses for not coming to your meeting to-night. My cough is very uneasy, and the heat of that room would kill me, both while I was in it, and when I should go out of it into the air.

I hope the judges will do well to-morrow, and that you will not agree to our amendments in the Prize Office bill.

Enclosure.

[Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, Lord Justice Clerk, to Robert Harley.]

1705, February 3. Edinburgh.—It is much more to be known from the tempers of men than from the weather at present that we are so far removed to the North and distant from the rest of the world; for some you know, and not long ago did see, continue peevishly unsatisfied, never attempting anything [which] looks like bringing themselves or others rationally to digest what is proper and fit to be done in the present state of affairs. 'Tis easy to find fault with our predecessors, but alas! never a thought how to recover that we cry so loudly 'Oh, 'tis lost.' Without a present remedy, indeed certain ruin seems to threaten, and how can it be otherwise, for a narrow enquiry to find faults (not out of design to mend them) and self-interest possess too many at this time. To be more plain, the new Ministry are at no pains to gain one man, nay all their designs are confined within the number of five or six persons; and we are wholly taken up to find Green and his crew pirates. This I can say little of, the presumptions are strong, but I cannot neglect what is of more weight to me, and that is, the curbing the insolence of the papists and Jacobites. You may guess what pass we are at when the Duke of Gordon takes the boldness to insult the Government; he has never been known to expose himself, but when he thought there was a sure game in the field. You may come to hear the Justice Clerk is too forward and will spoil all, but he says without some appear with vigour at present we are undone; therefore he has proposed the disarming presently all papists and taking their horses, and what Highland chieftains are papists that all their men be disarmed, and that lists of all papists and reputed papists be sent in to the Council. We must next enquire after our non-jurant clergy, who these two years have gone through corrupting our people. You cannot imagine how far people have laid aside their reason, yea, and their former desire to a union, and seem rather to hearken to proposals for the succession. All I can say farther at present is that the only hope one can have is that at present there does not appear a fixed determined resolution among men, so that there is ground to work if there were proper instruments.

Postscript.—I forgot to write to you about our friend Col. John Erskine. He is an honest man and met with hard measure two years ago when turned out of Dumbarton Castle. Justice says he should be 'reponed,' and the Revolution people will be all glad of it.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1704-5 [February 24], Saturday.—The House of Lords has left out the first clause in the bill of Offices, upon the uncertainty and absurdity of it, and have passed the second relating to the Prize Office with some considerable amendments, one of which puts the judgment of offences against that Act into the courts of Westminster Hall.

I have not heard what the judges have resolved to do about the Aylesbury men, but I hope no writ of error will lie upon that occasion for bringing it to the House of Lords.

Major-General Harvey has brought Mr. Secretary Hedges some letters from Portugal of an old date, which show more plainly than ever the very ill condition of our affairs there, and what is worse they scarce seem capable of any remedy. We can't send a better general than Lord Galway, and to send another ambassador would only give a handle to malicious people to lay the blame upon our changing the hand.

If you could intercept the message to France it might prove of very great use at this time.

I have a poor little grandchild of nine months old more like to die than live, of a fever, at this hour.

[The Same to the Same.]

1704-5, March 24.—If you can be at leisure I think it would be necessary for you to come to my house about seven this evening, if it were only to take leave of the Duke of Marlborough; but I must own I have a by-end of my own in it, for I want to speak to you of several things. This matter of the Great Seal must not lie long as it does; I wish you would think what ought to be done in it, as soon as you can.

[The Same to the Same.]

1705, April 1. Monday night.—I hear by Mr. Secretary Hedges the Duke of Newcastle has the Privy Seal given him this night; will he be so formal as to expect one should go to Clerkenwell to make him a compliment, or will he be reasonable enough to be satisfied if one wishes him joy in a letter. I beg the favour of you to tell me freely your thought of him in this point, for I would not willingly stumble in the threshold.

[The Same to the Same.]

1705, April 8.—I think you have filled the blanks very well in the Commission for the Union, and agree it would have been

entirely right to have enlarged the number of Commissioners, but the Scots Commission being fixed to thirty-one and, as they say, unalterable, they would not suffer our number to exceed theirs, because in all former Commissions the number of Commissioners has been the same, and they were jealous in case ours should exceed theirs it would have an air of superiority which they could not well excuse to their Parliament.

For my own part I wish there were no such thing upon earth as a punctilio of any kind.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1705, April 12. Newmarket.—I return the letters you did me the favour to send me by the post, having first given the Queen an account of the substance of them. Her Majesty thinks it proper that all encouragement be given to Hughetan to expect her protection; and I confess I think his coming over at this time will give a very ill impression of the affairs of France, and by consequence please much here.

I have no great reflections to make upon Lord Raby's or Mr. Stepney's letters.

[Lord Godolphin] to Robert Harley.

1705, April 14. [Newmarket.]—I shall speak to Lord Halifax here to send for Mr. Montague to town, but I find he is not without some scruple upon the account of his friendship with Mr. Stepney, and wishes it might be so ordered as that Mr. Stepney might not have the least jealousy or uneasiness upon his nephew's going thither. If the instructions are ready by the Queen's coming to town I conclude they will be ready before he who is to carry them.

The Queen goes Monday to Cambridge.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1705, April 16. Newmarket.—The Queen leaves it to the Lords of the Committee to resolve what powers it may be proper for the Duke of Marlborough to have in case of any desertion of the Irish from the French service abroad.

I have spoken to Lord Halifax here about his nephew's going to Vienna, and not finding him so forward in that matter as I had reason to think he would have been, I must beg the favour of you not to mention it at home or abroad till I have the honour to see you.

The Queen is gone this morning to dine at Cambridge.

[The Same to the Same.]

1705, April 19. Newmarket.—I return your foreign letters, and am sorry to find by Mr. Stepney's that Prince Eugene was not yet gone to Italy, where he seems to be much wanted.

I have written to the Duke of M[arlborough] by the last post to try if Mr. Stanhope would be willing to go to Vienna; if not, after the answer comes, I doubt we must be forced to part with Mr. Paget at last.

I keep Mr. Addison's deposition till I see you, which I hope will be Sunday night.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1705, May 2.—The noise which I easily foresaw would follow from making 'Tackers' Serjeants [at law] is come with great violence, and I must own I don't see what is to be said to it, and therefore I think if it be not too late the call ought to be stopped till next term. For to do this just before the election will, I doubt, bring a most unaccountable ridicule upon the Government. But next term the same thing might be done without reproach.

This thing joined with the delay made in my Lord Westmorland's request cannot be borne at once, and must needs be the greatest gratification imaginable to the 'Tackers' and their adherents.

[The Same to the Same.]

1705, May 31.—I have received the favour of yours for which I give you many thanks, and have had a mind often to be writing to you, but I considered that the less I troubled your affairs in the country, the sooner I might hope to see you in town.

You begin to be much wanted now for the instructions to Vienna and Hungary, and some which will be as necessary at the Hague as either. These last are furnished chiefly by our Lisbon letters. I believe the Queen will resolve to send my Lord Sunderland; his rank is proper for the compliment, and he will be thought to wish well to the peace with the malcontents; and he must wait upon the Duke of Marlborough in his way, but he can't be dispatched till you come to give him his instructions, and the time presses in all respects.

Your Worcestershire news is no news here. We hear it not only from those sort of people but from all sides.

I believe Parker will be the Queen's sergeant, the Chief Justices are for B[aniste?]r.

[The Same to the Same.]

1705, June 3, Sunday night.—My last was to desire you to come to town, and this night at the Cabinet Council there were two letters from Mr. Stepney which came this morning, that will make it still more necessary. The Accommodation with the malcontents seems impossible unless the Emperor and his ministers will agree to a guarantee, and in that case there's great hopes it may succeed.

The instructions for this affair being in your hands, and indeed much better there than in any other, the Queen has ordered Secretary Hedges to send this express to desire you would come

to town in hopes that you may be able to take her directions next Sunday night at Windsor for anything that will require to be added to those instructions.

I shall stay in town till Saturday morning the 9th, so that if you are here by Friday night I may have opportunity of talking to you before I go to Windsor.

Lord Marlborough writes me word all the troops designed for his army will not be together before the 20th N.S.; but he has more now than he has forage for, and has therefore been forced to march over the Saar into the plains, where the M. de Villars had an opportunity of fighting him, if he had thought fit, with a superior force, but they chose rather to stay in their camp, and to strengthen themselves there.

The Dutch have been frighted at Huy and Liége, but I believe that is all. I wish they would think it worth their time to throw away a month or six weeks upon those places.

All the accounts we have from Spain, or of it from any other place, seem to give a very hopeful prospect.

Lord Great Chamberlain [Lindsey] has carried his election in the county of Lincoln, and I hear Palmer and Pigot have carried it in Somersetshire.

Queen Anne to Robert Harley.

[1705,] June 14. Windsor.—I send you back all your letters but the news from Spain, which I have not yet reade being in hast to send the messenger away, that my letters for the Queen of Denmark and the Elector Palatin may be time enough with you to goe by this night's post. I think it will be very proper that Mr. How should be ordered to make my compliments at the Court of Hanover upon the marriage, as my Lord Halifax proposed.

I am your very affectionett freind,

ANNE, R.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1705, June 21. Windsor.—Having seen the news of the Internuncios being at the Hague in two several letters, I make no doubt of the truth of it, looking upon it as the most improbable thing in the world for anybody to invent.

Lord Marlborough being so near them in Holland will not only be a bridle upon their negotiations, but taking away their fears it will also take away their power of proceeding upon them.

I think you are much in the right not to take Edwards, if you have any way of taking his letters.

I shall order Mr. Taylour by this messenger to take your directions to whom he shall pay the 100*l.* to Ogilvy.

I have a letter from Col. Graham who seems very unwilling to believe the news of his son's marriage.

The Prince has notice that Sir George Bing sailed the 18th from Plymouth, which I am very glad to hear, the wind having been very (*sic*) fair as it could blow ever since.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1705, June 22. Windsor.—I have the favour of your letter with a very long one from M. de Guiscard, full of complaints; till I see his book which you speak of, I cannot judge how far it is fit to be printed, but by his letter to me that may possibly deserve to be considered.

Though I never heard before that there was such a person as Dorothy Ellis, I cannot but agree her vanishing just at this time is a very odd circumstance belonging to that affair. I hope the trial goes on that we may see what it will produce.

The Queen is pleased to allow that Mr. Stratford should have Dr. Ratcliff's canonry of Christ Church.

[The Same to the Same.]

1705, [June] 25. Windsor.—I have received the favour of your letter of 24th, and have acquainted the Queen with the particulars of it and the enclosed letters; that from Scotland diverted her, though we could but guess at "a" and "F."

The Duke of Queensberry has promised to go down and give his best assistance, but I am so prepared to expect that all will signify nothing, that if anything should go well there it would be a great surprise.

While Ogilvy is in so good a mood you will please to consider whether he is most like to be serviceable to the Queen there, or here, or at Rotterdam or at Hamburgh. If Hughetan can make good what he says we ought to make him very welcome, but I doubt this wind will not let him come; but it must bring us news from sea of one kind or other.

Mr. Secretary Hedges will tell you the Queen's pleasure, for what you are to lay before the Lords of the Committee to-morrow about my Lord Sunderland's being directed to speak to the Pensioner that Monsieur d'Almeto may be instructed to join with him in speaking a little more strongly, if there be occasion, at the Imperial Court; the whole to be guided by my Lord Marlborough, whom my Lord Sunderland will please to desire that he would give him a letter to Count Zinzendorf.

[The Same to the Same.]

1705, June 27.—The letters yesterday from Lisbon show so much disorder and confusion there, as seems to make a necessity of some present remedy. The only one I can think of like to have any effect is to insist with Portugal that the General of the allies may have the chief command, at least of one body of their army, against autumn, and let the M[arquis] das Minas act with the other. If Holland will join heartily and speedily with us in this representation, I should hope to obtain the point from the Court of Portugal.

Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.

1705, July 4. Windsor.—With the other letters you did me the favour to send me I return you also Hughetan's paper, which is very material and has an air of being sincere; besides that Mr. Secretary Hedges' French letters of this post give a great confirmation of the facts mentioned in his paper, and also of the consequences of them.

I wish therefore you would give him the encouragement of speaking kindly to him before I come to town, which will not be till Tuesday. Perhaps it may be necessary to consult Mr. Attorney [Northey], how far it is in the Queen's power to do what he desires in the paragraphs where I have drawn strokes under the lines of his paper. I am in doubt also whether they will be very willing in Holland to agree to what he proposes in the paragraph which I have marked in the margin.

Prince Eugene having passed the Oglio, I don't see how the French can without fighting hinder him from entering into the Milanese; and I find by Mr. Hill's letters the Duke of Savoy is much heartened from that expectation.

I received yesterday a letter from the Duke of Argyll, which though it takes no notice of the particular mentioned in Greg's letter, yet all he says there is I doubt but too great a confirmation of the Duke of Hamilton's superiority. I enclose the letter.

The Same to the Same.

1705, July 14. Windsor.—Col. Durell, just arrived here from the Duke of Marlborough, brings the good news of his having forced the enemy's lines, beaten a good part of the French army, and taken prisoners two lieutenant-generals and several other officers of distinction, with their cannon, &c.

The Queen would have the guns fired if there has been no order given for it already. This success is a great blessing and an earnest of more, for it will not stop here.

[Robert Harley to Lord Godolphin.]

1705, July 21. Saturday.—I am justly conscious to myself that the utmost service I can perform to her Majesty falls infinitely short of what the Queen deserves, nor can it bear any proportion to the reverence and affection I have for your Lordship and the Duke of Marlborough, by whose indulgence and too kind recommendation I have those marks I now enjoy of the Queen's favour; and as I cannot be without fear lest her service should suffer in my hand, so I shall always have a concern that I may not do anything unworthy of your favour. I hope therefore your Lordship will not think it impertinent if I take advantage of an expression which dropped yesterday at dinner to open my soul to you. The Queen I serve with my whole heart; and to the Duke of Marlborough I have those obligations only as has an English gentleman for the great things we enjoy by his valour and conduct that there will be no room left for me to do more

than remember his private favours to myself which I shall entail as the heirloom of my family. And as to yourself, my Lord, the seven years that I have enjoyed your protection and (will you permit me to say?) valued myself upon your friendship, have united my very soul to you that I cannot allow a thought disagreeable to you. I have no other views, no other passions, than to be subservient to your Lordship, if I go astray it shall be only for want of your direction. I confess I am too apt to tell my own opinion, but then with good reason I suspect myself so much that I double my diligence to bring about what is better designed by others. Not to trouble your Lordship with many words. I know my own heart, and I can die a martyr for what I have written, and that nothing can tear me from being &c.

Draft in Harley's hand with many alterations.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1705, July 30.—I have spoken to the Queen that you may have those rooms Sir John Stanley showed us in my Lord Chamberlain's lodgings till your own office can be made convenient for you.

I spoke to her also to make Mr. Fleming a baronet, and at the same time for one Mr. Miller of Sussex at the request of my Lord Scarbrough. If you have any occasion to see the Queen before I see you, upon your putting her in mind of these things, I believe she will give her order in them all. She will send you before twelve at night a letter to the King of Spain, which I suppose you must now enclose to my Lord Peterborough.

[The Same to the Same.]

1705, September 2.—I did not trouble the Queen with the presentment of the Grand Jury [on the pamphlet "The Memorial of the Church of England,"] nor I hope the "Gazette" shall not be troubled with it. Whether it be proper to print it by itself or not, I submit to better judgments; for my own part I must own I have neither skill nor taste in anything of that kind, only I observe when the Government is remiss upon such occasions, it is called negligence, and when it is careful, the effect of that care is imputed to particular industry.

I doubt it is not a sign of any good news when we are so long without the packets, though the wind has been southerly enough to have brought them over, so I hope you will examine your messenger pretty strictly upon that point when he comes.

By my Lord Peterborough's letter he seems to have so much more mind to carry the fleet and forces to Italy, than to Catalonia, that I am apprehensive a very little discouragement will serve to make them quit that design.

The Queen intends to dine Tuesday at the Duke of Bolton's and to return to Windsor, Saturday.

Her Majesty's servants in Scotland desire an instruction to pass the two Acts for trade, with that for the Cess, in case the Treaty miscarry.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1705, September 3. Winchester.—I acquainted the Queen with what you have written to me about the burning of the "Memorial," and now I think people will be satisfied there needs no more to be done in that matter.

I am sorry you meet with so many difficulties in the affair of Hannam, and especially from the directions left by Mr. Attorney General and Mr. Borrett's strictness in observing them. I doubt there is something not very right in that matter, but you are certainly right in following it as close as you can.

I am very glad you design to speak fully and particularly to those Lords you mention; in the meantime till I hear how that has passed I wish you would let me know what the "unreasonable things" are which you expect will be insisted upon by them. I have had a great deal of opportunity of speaking with Mr. Smith here, and I find him very reasonable and very moderate.

Poor Sir Charles Shugborough died here last night of an apoplexy. I am afraid we have a great loss of him this winter; he was set to have done all the service he could, and I doubt we must count upon an ill man in his room.

I have left off expecting the foreign letters. Mr. Aglionby, who was here yesterday, told me he stayed at the Brill forty days for a wind.

[Robert Harley to Lord Godolphin.]

1705, September 4.—I have been disabled from speaking with Lord Somers and Lord Halifax, though I have attempted it, partly by want of health and partly by the coming in of the letters and the dispatching other business.

I am heartily sorry for the death of Sir Ch. Shugburg, I am afraid the Queen's service will have a loss in him, for such men as he have a turn of doing for the advantage of the Queen's service more than twenty others. I hope each of these cross accidents will excite everybody to exert themselves to promote the Queen's service. I can only say for myself that I will sacrifice health, strength, and all I have in this cause; and since your Lordship commands it I will expose my crude notions to your correction, as I shall always submit myself to your direction.

I take it for granted that no party in the House can carry it for themselves without the Queen's servants join with them;

That the foundation is, persons or parties are to come in to the Queen, and not the Queen to them;

That the Queen hath chosen rightly which party she will take in.

The embodying of gentlemen (country gentlemen I mean) against the Queen's service is what is to be avoided. Therefore things which another time may be reasonable in themselves may prove dangerous to be granted at this time, if they will shock more persons than they will gain.

If persons who serve without reproach be turned out for not being of a party it will increase the jealousy that a party who have once been narrow spirited will be so again, and they will need all the assistance imaginable to keep them from running into their old error.

If the gentlemen of England are made sensible that the Queen is the Head, and not a Party, everything will be easy, and the Queen will be courted and not a Party; but if otherwise ————.

As to the question of the Speaker the Queen loses the grace of it, if they who set him are not made sensible that the best service he can ever do the Queen is, by having his name used to carry that question, and his party ought not to think they have imposed him upon the Court, but take it as a grace that they have him from the Queen's influence.

If your Lordship can pardon this, I shall not trouble you with the like again.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1705, September 5. Winchester.—Upon reading the Duke of Marlborough's letters the Queen suspends all thoughts of Lord P[embroke]'s going to Holland till she comes to Windsor, and will expect to see him there.

I must at the same [time] trouble you in a matter for which the Duke of Marlborough, in one of his letters to me, shows more concern and trouble than I have known him do on almost any other occasion. It is upon something being omitted to be printed in the London "Gazette" of the account sent over by Mr. Cardonnel, of what had passed upon his march to attack the French in their camp.

He sent me the enclosed paper with the lines drawn under the writing as you will see them. I suppose those lines under which the strokes are drawn are what he complains are left out. I cannot charge my memory so as to remember particularly how this omission came to pass, but I beg you will recollect what you can of it, and endeavour to satisfy him in it, by Friday's post. As I remember his letter to the States was printed in French and English; but this is not the first, though much the sorest, occasion of complaint about the "Gazette."

Enclosure.

Basse Wavre. Aug. 19, 1705, n.s.—Yesterday the army decamped at three in the morning from Fichermont, and having passed several defiles came through the Bois de Soignies into a spacious plain, with only the Ische between us and the enemy, whom we found according to expectation in their former camp between Neer Ische and Over Ische; [about noon our army was formed in order of battle, and my Lord Duke of Marlborough having with M. Dauverkerque visited the posts they had resolved to attack were accordingly giving orders to the troops to

advance, with a very fair prospect of success, but the Deputies of the States having consulted with their other generals would not give their consent so that it was given over]* and the army encamped at Lane, from whence they marched this day to the camp of Basse Wavre.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

[1705, September] 19.—I forgot to ask you last night if you had any opportunity of examining Sir J[ohn] B[arclay]'s son, and what account he gives himself of his coming over into England. I think the more public that matter is, the better effect it will have.

I am not at ease about several things we have formerly talked of.

The matter of the prosecuting in which Mr. Attorney [Northey] is pleased to be so indifferent or worse will come to be a sore thing. If you don't like Mr. Borrett, who I think was recommended at first by my Lord Chief Justice Trevor, pray let us have another. I wish, as you have seemed to do, that the Attorney would be a judge, but that matter can't hang long, no more than the disposing of the Great Seal, in which too much time has been already lost, in hope something might happen to make that matter more easy; but the Parliament being now so near it would be trifling to let it continue as it is and, as far as I can judge where I am concerned, dangerous for me, but that is an argument which would not have much weight with me, if I thought it safe for the Queen.

I have heard since I came to town of several insolences of the clergy, which are really insufferable and next door to open rebellion, and I don't find the least notice taken of it, or the least thought or disposition to reprehend any of them about it. If the Parliament be of the same mind we must submit to it, but if not, I hope they will be punished; and whether the Parliament approve of all the noise that is fomented in the kingdom of the Church's danger is, in my humble opinion, the first thing that ought one way or other to be cleared upon their meeting.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to [Robert Harley.]

1705, September 21, n.s. Augsbourg.—The chief occasion of my writing to you at present is to inform you that yesterday morning I was married to a widow lady I was acquainted with at Rome who, though an Italian, I am thoroughly persuaded will be not only a good wife but a good Protestant, she having to my knowledge made her change to our religion upon arguments well grounded as to the next world, as she entirely satisfied the Protestant minister who examined her before he would join us in marriage yesterday.

* The portion in brackets is underlined in the document as having been omitted from the "Gazette" Further details of this matter will be found in Coxe's Life of Marlborough.

However as to the sincerity of this act, time and her behaviour will be the best proof, and I wish people would be contented not to judge till they might do it upon grounds that were reasonable.

I design in some days to remove towards Frankfort, and therefore desire you will direct your next for me thither in my own name, since probably I shall be there before your letters. *Copy.*

[Lord Godolphin] to Secretary Harley.

1705, September 27. Newmarket.—This is to acknowledge the favour of yours and at the request of my Lord Halifax to recommend to your protection the case of Sir G. Heathcote and the Russia merchants. I cannot enter into the particulars because I am not informed of them so well as you, but I know you will do what is best for the trade.

I am sorry Mr. Attorney will be easy in nothing, perhaps he will be of another mind when he finds it is no more in his power; and I expect then he should say it was never offered him.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1705, September 30. Newmarket.—I must be excused if I say nothing as to the Electoral Prince's patent, for I have not the the least insight into that matter; but if you are in doubt, I think it would be right to consult my Lord Halifax.

I have a letter from G. Granville about the government of Guernsey for his brother Sir B[evil]. Pray let him know that I know the Duke of Marlborough has been long engaged to his own brother, C. Churchill.

I send you a letter I have received Mr. Pulteney [at Copenhagen]. I should think it right to oblige him; if the Queen pleases and it be not too late, why should not G. Granville have a mind to go abroad to one of those Northern Kings? I think that it is the readiest way for him to be made easy at home.

I shall contribute to your staying in the country as long as you desire, but you can't but see we shall have another reply from Mr. B , and you can't but think you will be wanted to answer the Holland letters as often as they come.

[The Same to the Same.]

1705, October 4. Newmarket.—I am extremely much concerned for the shame and the ill consequences of our disappointment in Catalonia. I must beg the favour of you to thank M. Vrybergh for the communication of his letter, having too much to write to-day to be able to thank him myself.

I reckon there must have been some unaccountable folly in that matter, and the orders mentioned could be none but the private instructions; however the orders sent from Windsor by the Duke of Savoy's courier will be said to have occasioned what has been done, though in truth they were subsequent to it.

By the Duke of Marlborough's letters, I believe he will yet judge it necessary to go to Vienna, which, though best for the service of the allies in general, will yet make our particular still greater here at home.

I hope the Duchess of Marlborough and the Duke of Newcastle between them will be able to convert Mr. Guydott.

I know nothing of Brockett particularly, but his looks and his employment together make me apt to think we can't much rely upon him.

I shall be Monday next at St. Albans.

I hope Mr. St. John is better.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

[1705, October 10?]—The news from Perpignan does not much alarm me, and if Prince Eugene can't stir till he has money I doubt he will be immovable a good while.

I have been at Kensington this evening. The Queen will have the Cabinet Council Friday morning at St. James's, and to-morrow in the evening at Kensington, before or after which, as will be most easy to you, I would be glad to read over the project, or plan as 'tis called, with you, that we may agree what answer to make upon it; though in my humble opinion it is so partial and at the same time so weak that one must have a good deal of temper to treat it seriously.

I find nobody that can resolve me whether the seals are to be given privately to the new Lord Keeper [Cowper], or with the purse at Council when he is sworn.

[The Same to the Same.]

1705, October 23.—I return your papers without reading for fear you might want them at the Cabinet Council which I understand is summoned to meet this morning, but I am obliged to attend my Lord Keeper to Westminster Hall; as soon as that is over, I shall come.

I doubt Mr. Bromley's partisans will not be so much discouraged by the guns they heard yesterday as they may justly be encouraged by the noise which the folly of our own friends makes every day in the week. I have heard a good deal of it this morning and I saw it before, but I was willing not to take any notice of it so long as it was possible to avoid it.

If I have no opportunity of speaking to you this morning I will come to your office in the evening. It is necessary I should speak to you with Hughetan and settle that matter, that we may write to the Duke of Marlborough accordingly. Though I make no doubt but a vessel has been dispatched with the particulars of what has passed at Barcelona, yet these winds may hinder us from hearing them that way for some time.

[The Same to the Same.]

1705 [October 25].—Now the hurry and the anxiety of this day is a little over, I must beg leave to put you in mind that the

draught of the Speech must not be brought to-morrow to the Cabinet Council in my hand; and besides the amendment you may have made in it there are some which upon reflection I think myself are proper to be made.

I don't know whether it will be easy to you, to let me come to you anywhere to-night; but if not, I shall be at home to-morrow morning till the Cabinet Council, or that may be deferred till the evening, if there shall be occasion.

The majority of this day has not been so great but that it will concern the Court, not to be either negligent or imprudent; any false step will easily spoil this session.

I am sorry so many of our friends have played the fool, but unless we have a mind to do so too, it must not be resented.

H. St. John to Secretary Harley.

1705, October 26. Whitehall.—You was in haste when I saw you this morning, otherwise I would have spoke to you about what I write to you now. You may remember, Dear Master, that some time ago I complained to you that whilst the care of the forces abroad was in other hands, and Mr. Clark, as secretary to his Royal Highness concerned himself with those at home, I could not think myself very well used. It was this consideration that made me write to my Lord Treasurer, as soon as I heard the "Brimmer" was out to desire that I might, if he thought it proper, succeed to his business, exclusive of what is to be done with the Council of the Lord High Admiral. If my Lord thinks it improper, or more for her Majesty's service to employ another, I am easy. I tell you what I have done and upon what grounds I did it, for you have been so kind in millions of instances to me that I really look on myself as accountable to you for all my actions. The only thing that made me hesitate was, that I should be vexed to be thought greedy after profit, which I despise with all my heart, and serve the Queen on a much better principle. All I can say on this head is, that I will promise to make less of both places than the two gentlemen that had them made of each; and that as I design to make no fortune so I will spend in the Queen's service whatever I get in it. There are some iniquities which do make a noise, that if I do not begin by destroying I will forfeit my character with you for ever very willingly.

If you approve what I have done I know your friendship for me and I depend on it; if I have been unreasonable I shall submit to your correction as becomes one who truly values and ever must be faithfully and entirely yours.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1705, December 8.—I should not trouble you so perpetually, but that the time is short and we have much to do. The Land Tax and the Scots' bill ought to pass before Christmas, and by

the printed votes which I read sometimes there seems to be foundation laid for otherways employing some of the few days betwixt this and that time.

I am alarmed also with being informed by some of the Scots, as if you were not for repealing but only suspending the Scots' Act; but I can't believe this, because I know how industrious people are to spread falsities, and because it is too plain that a bare suspension of that Act only makes it not possible for the Scots to treat, but leaves the failure at the door of England.

I want to speak with you also about some foreign affairs, and should be glad if you could call upon me to-morrow between five and six in the evening.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1705-6, February.—I thank you for yours last night and your kind enquiry after my health, which I thank God begins to mend. I have been abroad in my coach this noon to take the air.

I return you the enclosed; if the sickness mentioned in it has been a real one, might it not be of use to discover the person?

The report you take notice of from Holland of our being weary of Gibraltar has probably been occasioned by our asking them to bear their part of the expense of it, which is a demand that I think ought to be frequently repeated to them. As weary as the Dutch are of the Spanish war, I believe they would not be more easy at our taking off the prohibition of commerce with Spain, than our people are at their opening the trade with France, and therefore I cannot but wish that matter might be considered in the House of Commons, for the more I think and talk of it, the more I am confirmed that it may prove an expedient very useful at this time.

H. St. John to Secretary Harley.

1706, April 29. Whitehall.—Upon enquiry into the matters alleged against MacMahone, the deputy Marshal of the Savoy, and Murphy his clerk, of their being Irish papists, I am informed that they were both born in Ireland, that their relations are Irish papists or reputed so, and that their conversation is chiefly with such; as also that MacMahone did serve as a trooper in Flanders, but being suspected to be a papist was dismissed the service. So that there is reason to believe that what is alleged against them in that respect is true. But as to the complaints of their ill usage of the prisoners in the Savoy, there being no mention made of any particular instance thereof, I have not been able to make any enquiry thereinto.

I will give directions for the discharge of these persons unless I hear to the contrary from you.

[*The last paragraph only in St. John's handwriting.*]

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

[1706, May.]—By the discourse I had with you just now at Kensington, I am sorry to be forced to put you in mind that you never take any tolerable care of your own health.

I return the copy of M. de Villeroy's letter to you, because it is such a rarity that I think it ought to be kept in the Paper Office.*

Should not the letters of those persons mentioned by Montargis be opened?

As to L'Apostre—there is one of that name who lives in the city, a *nouveau converti* he pretended to be. He came into England since the Queen's coming to the Crown, he has brought me projects relating to the West Indies, and appeared to me always very sufficient and very impudent. I never was without some suspicion of his being a spy.

The Duke of Marlborough to [Robert Harley].

1706, May 6.—As all truths may not be proper to be in the "Gazette," I desire the favour of you that during this campaign when I send in your letter as I now do a paper of news, you will let it be inserted in the "Postman," and what is to be in the "Gazette" Mr. Cardonel will send it to the office as formerly.

Postscript.—I shall depend on your friendship and judgment to leave out what you may think improper.

The Earl of Rochester to [Earl Rivers].

1706, June 2. New Park.—Recommending Major Keymis to his protection, who was in Ireland when the writer was Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom, was in the first service in Portugal and there made prisoner with his whole regiment. He was of a very good family in Wales, and had raised a great many very good men for the Queen's and the public service.

[Lord Godolphin] to Robert Harley.

[1706,] June 8.—The last advices from France say the fleet was disarming at Toulon, and if that be true, as seems probable, why might not the squadron with Sir John Leak be divided, and 25 or 30 sail sent to the coast of Italy, which might have an

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* Harley, however, appears to have kept the paper in his own hands, for annexed to this is copy of a letter from Villeroy to Marshal de Tallard (then a prisoner at Nottingham), dated 25 May, 1706, which runs:—"Votre fils a été pris. Monsieur, dans une action que nons avons eu avec les ennemis le 23 dont vous entendrez parler. Il est en bon santé, J'envoyai d'abord un trompette pour le reclamer, J'espere que M. d'Auverquerk me le renvoyera aujourdhui."

An extract from a letter of Montargis to the Chevalier de Croissy at Nottingham is also annexed, which will help to explain the succeeding paragraphs of Godolphin's letter. It runs:—"Si vous avez besoin de quelque correspondence à Londres, vous pourriez vous adresser au Sieur Salvador, ou à Madlle. Anne Maubert ou au Sieur L'Apostre, auxquels j'ordonnerai ce qu'il vous plaitoit. A Bruxelles M. Bombarde, Tresorier de M. l'Electeur, et à Amsterdam M. Daniel Flournois, ou M. André Petz en feront de même." The letter was written from Paris, 23 April, 1706.

effect to make Naples declare immediately, and be a great assistance to Prince Eugene; and the other part be still sufficient to assist and countenance any designs of King Charles the third upon the coast of Spain, and even upon Cadiz itself, in case there should be occasion of making an attempt upon that place and an opportunity of doing it; and if we should, in great wisdom and security, keep our whole fleet together all this summer in the Mediterranean, I don't see that it is capable of doing any service that may not be as well performed by half of it.

If there be anything in this thought worth your reflection, you will come the better prepared for it to-morrow to Windsor, where I imagine it will be proper to consider what instructions Sir J. Leak has at present.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1706, July 8 [June 27, o.s.]—I thank you for what you mention of the letters, and the care you are taking to find out the authors, I should be glad to know them, though as long as God blesses us with success their writing can have little weight. It may well be expected in so great a crowd to find some people who are never satisfied. I am impatient of having your thoughts upon the methods for the making the Queen's business go easy in the winter. I am very glad you are so well pleased with Lord Keeper, I am sure it is my hearty desire that the Queen should encourage every body that serves her well; what you desire for him can be no ways uneasy, but the engagement her Majesty may be under, but you and Lord Treasurer are the best judges as to the time.

I have given Prince Eugene notice of the fleets being ordered on the coast of Italy. I think Mr. Cresset a very honest man, but would not his going to the Court of Hanover give more jealousy than the thing is worth? You know I have no partiality for Prince Lewis of Baden, but what Monsieur Vriberg told you is impossible. I should trouble you oftener with my own hand, but I am sure what ever I write to Lord Treasurer is no secret to you.

If you send me the copies of the letters you have from the army, I should be glad to see them.

[*Addressed* "To Your self"; *and endorsed by Harley as* "received on July 3" [o.s.].]

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH "for Your self" [ROBERT HARLEY].

1706, July [1-]12.—I am obliged to you for your friendly care, and I will have Major Cranston observed, and should be glad to have a copy of the letter concerning Ramillies, and if possible to be certain of the author. I know not well how to answer your demand of Prince Lewis, other than that I am afraid nothing will be done and yet I can see no remedy for it. I am told the Observator is angry with me.

The Duke of Marlborough "to Your self" [Robert Harley].

1706, July [8-]19.—I must beg your friendship in letting me have the necessary powers for my security, as to the two points you will see in Lord Treasurer's letter. And pray let me have a copy of the letter that speaks of Ramillies, and the reason you have to believe it Major Cranston's, for he has obligations to me.

The Duke of Marlborough "to Your self" [Robert Harley].

1706, July 15-26.—What her Majesty has done to Mr. Cæsar is very right; if Sir George Rook has refused to sign the Kentish address, should he continue in the council? I am glad the Queen has ordered Earle to go with the descent, and if Shrimton be not designed to return immediately to Gibraltar, I should think it might be for the service to send him, for Lord Rivers can't have too many officers. I expect your thoughts upon the winter campaign.

[Lord Godolphin] to Secretary Harley.

1706, July 20. Windsor.—I am sorry, as much as you seem also to be, that the Imperial Court will do nothing at our request in relation to Hungary and the Rhine, at the same time that we are doing so much for them in Italy, Spain and Flanders. I think this ought to be put home to them not only by Mr. Stepney, who I doubt is not very well heard at Vienna, but also to the Comte de Gallas here. If I may use such an expression the Emperor owes it the Allies to repair in some measure the unaccountable and scandalous conduct of Prince L[ewis] of Baden.

The expectation of the Queen's coming to town upon Monday will, I take for granted, hinder most of the Lords from being here to-morrow, though there seems to be as much business, and as little uneasiness in the journey, as there has been any Sunday in this year.

The news of this post is generally so good that I conclude all the Foreign ministers will be here; and though your Amsterdam letter may possibly give a right account of Biscay and Navarre, I am sanguine enough to believe both Seville and Cadiz have declared, which will determine all the rest.

The Admiralty are not so lively and vigilant as they ought to to be; I see it every day upon twenty occasions, but yet I don't see how at present it is to be mended.

I find you don't think my poor Lady Huntingdon punished enough yet.

Since I had written thus far I have waited upon the Queen, who had been abroad early a hunting. I find her Majesty is desirous the Lords should be summoned to-morrow, several things requiring to be dispatched sooner than Tuesday, all indeed that relate to the expedition, the troops being all embarked at Ostend and the weather fair, though not the wind.

THE QUEEN'S INSTRUCTIONS TO EARL RIVERS.

1706, July 21. Windsor.—Having been given command of the forces to be employed in the present expedition against the enemy, Lord Rivers is instructed to repair forthwith to Spithead and embark the troops, then to proceed with them to the coast of France and to land them at such place as he shall find best for the service. When landed, at a seasonable time he is to publish the declaration which has been printed in the French language, in order to facilitate his success; and he is required to take all possible care that the declaration be punctually observed, and the severest punishments inflicted on all persons who shall offend contrary to it. Lord Rivers is moreover empowered to issue such other declarations or manifestos from time to time as he shall judge may conduce to the furtherance of this service, taking care to give assurances to the people and to make it public that his design is not for conquest but to restore to all sorts of people their ancient rights and privileges; and that no peace will be hearkened to till the same are secured to them on a good and lasting foundation.

From time to time Lord Rivers is to consider and concert measures with Sir Cloudesley Shovell, or the commander in chief of the fleet attending this expedition, for the better co-operating with him in making any attempt on the enemy where the fleet can be of use for carrying it on.

He is also empowered to treat and agree with any of the French nation to come in and join with him, is to give them assurances that he is not come only to make a diversion but to fix himself with them till such time as they may be secured of their just rights and privileges, &c.

He is to give an account of all his proceedings in this expedition to one of the principal Secretaries of State, and to follow such other instructions as he shall receive from either of them. If he shall find insuperable difficulties in attempting to land on the coast of France, or in taking post there, he is to repair to Jersey or Guernsey, and expect further orders. *Sign Manual.*

SIR CHARLES HEDGES, Secretary of State, to EARL RIVERS.

1706, July 22. Whitehall.—Her Majesty, having received advice that the Dutch troops began to embark at Ostend on the 14th inst., and that they will be at Spithead so soon as the wind serves, commands him to forward the above "Instructions to Richard Earl Rivers, commander-in-chief of our Land forces employed in the present expedition," dated at Windsor July 21, and signed by the Queen.

LORD GODOLPHIN to SECRETARY HARLEY.

1706, July 26. Windsor.—I received the favour of yours last night with the ill news of poor Mr. Methuen's death, very unseasonable I doubt for the Queen's service in those parts.

Her Majesty approves the sending for his son to Portugal, and appointing Mr. Chetwynd in his room, but not of sending any credentials at present to my Lord Galway.

Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough to [Robert Harley].

1706, July 26. Windsor Castle.—A very odd accident has happened to me that makes it reasonable for me to see the letters that come from a servant of my Lord Marlborough's to one that lives with me, and hers to him. Their name is Forster, and I expect she will write one to him this post. I don't mean to give anybody the trouble to copy them, as it has been upon things of more consequence, I desire their original letters. It is no matter if their correspondence should fail for a post or two, and I shall make no ceremony after the provocation I have had to open their letters, and burn them without letting them know anything of the matter. I beg your pardon for this trouble.

The Earl of Rochester to [Earl Rivers].

1706, July 27. New Park.—Wishing his "Excellency" all happiness in his expedition, both upon the public account and his own, and that he may have success and honour in it.

H. St. John to Secretary Harley.

1706, July 27. Portsmouth.—I have sent an express to Windsor, my Lord Rivers and Mr. Erle thinking I can be of more use here than I think myself anywhere ; and shall not see you till Tuesday at soonest in London. I have writ to my Lord Treasurer an account of what passed on board Sir Cloudesley's this day. He, my Lord Rivers, and Mr. Erle have no concern but the fear of not doing what may in some measure be of a piece with the other enterprises of her Majesty's reign, and therefore propose attempting the Groyne, if they cannot fix themselves in France nor hope to winter there.

I forgot to mention to my Lord Treasurer that I find Seymour and Withers to be elder Majors-General than Lord Essex, and believe others to be so too, though the register has been formerly so ill kept in my office that the ranks of the army are hard to be found. I have therefore told my Lord Rivers that it is impossible to declare my Lord a Lieutenant-General ; he is, I find, uneasy, though unreasonably, at it, and urges that if Erle and he should be killed or die Guiscard will command. You easily see how frivolous this is, but however, if the Queen shall please to be so indulgent, I send the draught of an order that signifies nothing and yet will make the new peers perfectly easy.

I have received all the manifestos from London and put them into Lord Rivers's hands.

I will not trouble you with particular accounts of our embarkation, in general we want nothing but the Dutch and an easterly wind.

Sir Charles Hedges to Henry St. John.

1706, July 28. Windsor.—Having written to Sir Cl. Shovell upon the proposals you mention in yours of the 27th inst., in which Lord Rivers and General Erle agree if her Majesty

approves, I shall not trouble you on that subject but only to acquaint you her Majesty does not think fit to lead them from the main design by any alternative instruction.

Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough to [Robert Harley].

[1706,] July 30. Windsor Castle.—I am satisfied there can never anything pass between this brother and sister that is worth giving you any further trouble. If you will pardon what I have done I shall be very thankful.

Postscript.—The great packet to Mr. Forster is the same hand as that I had before with the prints; without reading his letters one may see his impertinence, to have two packets of prints every week, when I suppose the same is to be had wherever he goes.

Sir Charles Hedges to Earl Rivers.

1706, August 1. Whitehall.—Mr. St. John having communicated a letter signed by your Excellency and Lieut.-General Erle wherein you say you were under some apprehension you were misunderstood, because an expression in my letter seemed to look as if you had thoughts of altering the first design, I am commanded to acquaint you her Majesty did not apprehend you had any thoughts of proceeding otherwise than was at first designed, but lest any other view should slacken the proceedings the Queen did not think fit to give any other orders.

The Duke of Marlborough "to Your self" [Robert Harley].

1706, August 5 [n.s.]—If you could let me have a sight of the original letter of Ramillies I could then be sure of knowing the author, having in my custody an original letter of the major's. Mr. Craggs will give you the names of the Deputy Lieutenants of Oxfordshire. I thank you for the powers concerning Flanders, the other I have not yet received. The siege of Menin goes on very slowly, and I am afraid that some of our friends have a peace more at heart, than the carrying the war on with vigour.

Queen Anne to [Robert Harley].

[1706,] August 6. Windsor.—"I have reason to beleeve Mr. St. Johns will be desired to be heare Friday or Saturday, which is the occasion of my giveing you this trouble to desire you would speak with him before he coms, and take care to order it soe with him, in case there should be any more horse thought necessary to be sent for out of Ireland, that the regiment may not be mentioned that I hindred from being ordered before, which will very much oblidg

Your very affectionett freind,

Anne R."

Postscript.—"I desire that you will take care that Mr. St. Johns may not think you know of his being to be heare soe soon as I have mentioned, that he may not suspect what you say to him about the Regiment coms from me."

Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough to Robert Harley.

1706, August 8. Thursday.—I received a letter from Lord Marlborough last post in which he says it is so disagreeable a thing to keep a spy about one, that he bids me order a servant to watch him, and intercept his letters, and if I find it as I imagine, that I should put him away. This is the occasion of my giving you this new trouble, to desire you would please to order that any letters that come to the Post Office from Windsor, directed in the hand of this receipt, should be stopped, and returned to me, or any letters directed to David Foulks, which is the name of this suspected person.

You have expressed so much goodness to me upon several occasions that I venture to take this liberty, though I know it is impertinent, because I fancy you may have some servant that may do it without much trouble to you, and the way my Lord Marlborough directs I believe would not prove so effectual as this, for besides the difficulty of servants keeping a secret that live together, I have observed that they don't care to discover the greatest villany in the world, unless it be something that hurts themselves.

Postscript.—I thought the best way of getting my spy's hand was to make him write the enclosed receipt.

Sir R[oger] Bradshaigh to [Earl Rivers].

1706, August 8.—I was this afternoon with Lady Betty [Savage] and told her what I heard reported, which startled her very much, till I named the person I was told she had married, which when she found not to be the man seemed to make a jest of it, and notwithstanding all I could say to her, I could not get anything from her to convince me there was no grounds for such a report. But at last I have got the secret out, and which, I am sorry to tell your Lordship, is that she is married to my Lord Barrymore, and that as long since as in June; the particulars are too tedious at present for me to send you, nor am I thoroughly informed of them, but in a day or two will give your Lordship a more perfect account, but must beg your Lordship will not take notice of it by the return of this post for some reasons you shall know hereafter, nor that I send you this account, but I could not forbear letting you know a thing that so much concerns you, and I am sorry to find those who should have sent you this account before now have kept it so long a secret; there was my Lord of Kerry and Mrs. Scrimshaw present at the wedding, and now there is a consultation on foot whether they shall own it, and my Lady Elizabeth Savage to leave her behind with her Lord. I shall be sent for I am told to consult what is to be done in regard to letting your Lordship know it as soon as it is resolved whether I am to be trusted with the secret, which I believe will not be long. So since what you had from the Doctor was not groundless, I only at present beg you will take no notice of this till you hear further from me, for a particular friend of mine will take it ill.

Brigadier J. Baynes to [Earl Rivers].

1706, August 11. Petersfield.—Yesterday morning I left London by my Lady Elizabeth Savage's commands, that if I could possibly reach your Lordship before you were sailed away I should deliver these enclosed letters to your Excellency, but finding that the fleet was gone, I thought fit to send them after. Her Ladyship and Lady Betty both were very desirous I should see your Lordship and so was I myself, but was so unfortunate not to be able to get time enough ; their Ladyships being under a great concern about your Excellency's reception of the news you receive in the letters. On Friday night I was at my Lady Elizabeth's house where I found my Lord Barrymore and Sir Roger Bradshaigh, and by his Lordship's desire, he obtained leave of both the ladies to come down to submit himself to your Lordship's favour in order to beg your forgiveness for what has been done without your Lordship's knowledge.

My Lord Barrymore, who was extremely desirous of being admitted to your Lordship's presence, came hither on purpose and in hopes thereof with the advice of my Lady Elizabeth with all the submission to your Lordship, only by his future behaviour to your Lordship and his Lady expecting your Lordship's reconciliation and favour, which he desires me to acquaint your Lordship with.

Sir Roger Bradshaigh to Earl Rivers.

1706, August 12.—I sent your Lordship a letter by Brigadier "Beans" last Saturday, but I believe the fleet was sailed before he got to Portsmouth. He was desired by my Lady Elizabeth and Lady Betty to wait on you, what particular instructions he had from them I was not privy to, though I was with them that night and desired to say as much as I could to your Lordship to mitigate so great a crime as Lady Betty has been guilty of. I hope you will excuse my presumption in concerning myself so far, but I hope your Lordship will not let it give you too much uneasiness since it cannot now be remedied. My Lady Guise and myself have been very free with my Lady Elizabeth upon this occasion, and think you have been used with so little regard and indeed common gratitude that we cannot expect but you should resent it in the greatest degree ; however I hope as she is your Lordship's child she will be happy, but that seldom attends disobedience especially to so kind a parent which I shall always justify your Lordship in to the world, though I believe there are some would have it thought otherwise to give a colour to what has been done. My Lady Guise has writ this post to you and I am sure she is a hearty well wisher to your Lordship.

Postscript.—I am told my Lord Barrymore has in present near 1,500*l.* per annum, and I find he is generally well spoken of about the town and indeed seems more concerned for disobliging your Lordship than those who have been most active in this affair.

The Duke of Marlborough "to Your self" [Robert Harley].

1706, August 16 [n.s.].—I am very impatient for what you promised me in your paper of the 23rd of the last month, being very sure you will do it impartially; and I am very confident you are so kind and just to me as to be sure I shall make no other use of it, but that of making myself more capable to serve her Majesty and the public.

La Mott mentioned in Mr. Henry Griffith's letter I do not know; Limbec who is my steward has been with me all this war, and is a very honest man. The Duke of Vandome will have to-morrow assembled all his army not far from Lille, and has assured the governor of Menin that he will relieve the place by the 20th of this month.

Sir Roger Bradshaigh to Earl Rivers.

1706, August 18. Dunstable.—As your Lordship had commanded me in Mrs. Colleton's letter, I immediately went to Lady Betty and delivered the message, who told me she would send the letter your Lordship required to my house yesterday, but none having been left there or any further answer from her, I thought it my duty to let you know it, though perhaps it may be sent after me into the country, which as soon as I receive I shall send to Mrs. Colleton.

My Lord Barrymore has taken a house in Great Russell Street where I found them last Friday, when I went for the letter. My Lady Elizabeth, Mrs. Paine and Mrs. Scrimshaw, were all above stairs with Lady Betty and Bridget "Beans"; and Mr. Paine below with my Lord. I do not know in what favour I am with these ladies but they look very grave upon me and perhaps think I have talked a little too free of the late affair, but I am sure I have never said or writ anything to your Lordship to do them any prejudice; but what I thought should not be a secret to you I took the liberty to acquaint you with, and shall always do the same where I ever hear anything so nearly concerns you. I shall see Mr. Vernon at Hulms Chapel next Thursday, where we shall talk over this matter and in the mean time I hope your Lordship will excuse a hasty letter after a dusty journey.

Lord Godolphin to [Earl Rivers].

1706, August 18, Sunday night. Windsor.—I have the honour of your Lordship's letter from Torbay, which having been laid this evening before the Queen, with the result of your Council of War, her Majesty finding that the thing proposed, supposing it should succeed, could not have an effect in this year answerable to the great expense of this expedition and the expectation of the world from it, and considering on the other hand that the present posture of affairs in [Spain] might make it yet necessary to send more forces into that kingdom for the entire reducing of that kingdom, she has for this year wholly laid aside the

thought of a descent in France, and determined to send you with the troops under your command to make a diversion upon the coast of Spain.

Your instructions, I suppose, will be to go to the river of Seville, to land your troops as near as you can to that town, which is open and very rich, and when you have reduced it to the obedience of King Charles, to take the best measures you can for making yourself master of Cadiz, either by attacking it if you find any encouragement to that, or by keeping their subsistence from them, which will not be difficult when you are once possessed of Seville and the country about it.

This proposition is thought more advisable than attempting any port in Biscay or Galicia, though more remote, because from that north part of Spain you could have no communication with the King in case he should be obliged to retire to Valentia or Arragon ; but from Andalusia upon occasion you might hear from one another and concert measures.

This proposition is also thought much better than to send the troops to Lisbon, because it would be inexcusable to expose ourselves a second time to the humours of the Portuguese ; besides that this is a thing of very great *éclat* as well as of the greatest importance.

You can have no instructions at this time how to govern yourself in relation to the King of Spain, or in case he should desire you to join him, we having not any certainty of his present circumstances.

The long delays occasioned by the contrary winds having defeated the first design I hope you will have success enough in this to recompense you for that misfortune.

Upon acquainting the States with the resolution we doubt of their concurrence, though we must not stay for their answer, but the French *Réfugiés* will I doubt be much disappointed, and their regiments so weak that it would be well if they could be made fewer and stronger, and kept on with the expectation of going into their own country another year.

My humble service to my Lord Essex and tell him I have taken care of Sir Thomas Clark and Mr. Wallis.

Sir Charles Hedges to Earl Rivers.

1706, August 20. Windsor.—Her Majesty having taken a resolution to send the fleet with the troops on board under your command to the coast of Spain I hereby send you the instructions she has thought fit to give your Excellency for that expedition, and am to acquaint you that her Majesty depends upon your proceeding accordingly without loss of time. It will be of great importance to keep your design as private as possible, for if it should take air perhaps you may find some opposition at your landing, whereas if you arrive before it is known you will have none at all.

So soon as you are landed you will take all possible care to give speedy notice of it to the King of Spain and Earl of Galway, and

such others of the Queen's commanders as you shall think fit, and immediately enter into correspondence with them for the mutual assisting one another and the concerting such measures together as may most contribute to the success of her Majesty's arms and the establishment of King Charles. I send this by an express, and Col. Richards will follow it to-morrow morning, who is to accompany your Excellency in this expedition and may be a proper person to be sent to the King of Portugal, being acquainted in the country and understanding what the Portuguese can do for your assistance. I should have sent the declaration printed in the Spanish language, but there was no time for it, and 'twas not thought fit to make any delay on that account, since perhaps you may have no occasion, or if you have there is a press on board for printing it or any other orders you shall judge necessary to be published.

I shall send your Excellency a cypher for corresponding with the Earl of Galway as soon as it can be got ready. I wish you a good voyage and all possible success.

Postscript.—I send your Excellency extracts of the late Ambassador Methuen's letters relating to an attempt upon Cadiz, not knowing but they may be of some use to you and particularly for concerting measures with the King of Portugal.

Earl Rivers to Lord Treasurer Godolphin.

1706, August 21. Torbay.—Her Majesty's commands signified by your Lordship in your letter of the 18th from Windsor shall be cheerfully obeyed, and since the thoughts of a descent on France are laid aside for this year, mine shall be wholly employed how I may most effectually carry on the service (with the small number of troops I have under my command) where I am directed.

In order to it I have already given directions for the buying up of hay and oats to make good the stores already spent, but I find upon a strict examination that all our transports and store ships will not carry for above thirty-five days of hay and oats so that I have given order for the hiring of two ships at Topsham to put provisions of that kind into, the Admiral telling me that we must expect to be thirty days at least in our passage.

I must beg leave to renew to your Lordship the instance I have already made relating to a further supply of money, the distance we are going to makes the reason still the stronger. I gave you an account that there is but one month's pay for the troops from the 24th of this month and between 3 and 4,000*l.* left for contingencies, which will be lessened by this addition of hay and oats. If your Lordship, according to that proportion, would be pleased to send us two months' more and for contingencies in proportion we shall be able to subsist till your Lordship can send us a further supply, which Sir Cloudesley says may be done by the way of Lisbon and he will take care to send ships for it; but this will take up some time, so that in my poor opinion we cannot be with less than what I mention in specie.

I desire her Majesty's particular directions in relation to the five French regiments and Monsieur Guiscard. There is but three hundred of them in all, I mean private men. I think the best way will be to put them in one regiment and give it Vimar with a double number of officers; and for Guiscard his project being at an end he is of no use to me. I shall treat them at parting as I am directed what's necessary, for the number he has, which is upward of four hundred, are very good who I have put in an English brigade. If your Lordship thinks fitting I will take the whole clothing with me. Some of our English regiments are weak which may be supplied by a detachment from Paston's regiment at Plymouth, I being informed by those that have seen them that there are five hundred good men in it. I beg your Lordship's speedy orders that I may take three hundred of them, which we can get on board with great ease. I hope your Lordship will send after us more ordnance stores; Lieut.-General Erle will send a particular what may be wanted. Mr. Onslow says he will pay for what hay and oats I shall buy here out of some money he has upon account of the Excise if your Lordship please to allow it; then for what he lays out here he will have my hand for his voucher. I shall submit to her Majesty's pleasure and your commands in everything but being under the orders of my Lord Peterborough; pardon me if I press you for an answer to this before we sail.

Copy.

Lord Godolphin to [Earl Rivers].

1706, August 21. Windsor.—Your Lordship will have received the Queen's instructions for the expedition to Seville and Cadiz; the first of these places is easy to be had, the second very difficult till you have the first, but after that I hope and believe you will soon be in possession of it.

This bearer, Col. Richards, who is a sensible ingenious man, has been particularly well acquainted with that place and will be able fully to explain to you the methods by which we hope it is to be gained, and the necessary steps in order to it. We have had a great deal of talk with him and I hope you will receive much satisfaction from the lights he seems to have in this affair. Besides that, having lately served both in Portugal, in Catalonia and Valentia, he can easily foresee all difficulties that you can meet with, and be as ready to suggest to you such remedies as they are capable of in that country.

It seems to me absolutely necessary you should make what haste you can to Seville, that being the only place where you can get money for the subsistence of your forces, by drawing bills from thence upon the Paymaster in England; and there is no doubt but you will find sufficient credit there, that being a place of the greatest riches and trade in Spain, which consideration will I hope incline them to assist you in reducing of Cadiz, and thereby restoring to them the commerce of the West Indies, of which they have had but little advantage since the French

have had the government in Spain. Now our aim being chiefly to bring back that trade to its old channel it ought naturally to be a powerful motive to them to give all concurrence to this end.

I ask your pardon for troubling you with so long letters. It is because I would not willingly omit anything for your information that may be of use for the expedition, in which I wish you all prosperity.

SARAH, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH to SECRETARY HARLEY.

[1706,] August 21. St. James's.—The enclosed letter you did me the favour to send to Windsor is not from the servant I suspected, but from a foolish woman in another family, that is married to a footman of Lord Marlborough's. It is of so little consequence that I think I should not have troubled you with it again, but you are very good, and I hope will pardon me.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1706, August 23. Windsor.—I trouble you with the copy of an affidavit which I received yesterday in a letter from the Bishop of Norwich, though I know of no other use that can be made of it than to observe that favours to any men of that sort do not seem to be extremely well placed. But as to the words themselves which surely are no less than high treason if duly proved, yet not being informed of in so many months after the time of their being spoken, I doubt much whether they are questionable at all.

Enclosure.

The Information of Thomas Seaman, of Starston, Norfolk, yeoman, taken before Waller Bacon, esq., a justice of the peace, August 17, 1706, about some treasonable remarks made by Thomas Arrowsmith, rector of Starston, to the deponent when they were going together to Norwich on November 13 preceding.

LORD GODOLPHIN to [EARL RIVERS].

1706, August 24, Saturday. Windsor.—I received last night your letter of the 21st, and have acquainted the Queen with the contents of it. Her Majesty approves your intentions concerning the French regiments.

As for Monsieur de Guiscard, since it is by no fault of his that his project is laid aside, it seems not unreasonable that he should be at liberty to serve upon this expedition or not, as he shall incline to most; but I shall be able to write more particularly to you upon this head after to-morrow, as also concerning the men you desire out of my Lord Paston's regiment.

As for the money you desire to be sent you, all care shall be taken to give you credit upon the Paymaster at Lisbon by the next packet, and if there be any money in the hands of the receivers or collectors of the revenue near you, that will be

persuaded to take the same methods offered by Mr. Onslow, they shall have notice that whatever money they furnish you with shall upon your Lordship's acquittance be looked upon as so much answered in London upon their account. I am afraid this will not amount to much, but, however, 'tis all the present hurry will admit of.

Sir Charles Hedges to Earl Rivers.

1706, August 25. Windsor.—Forwards certain papers and adds—The Lord Treasurer bid me acquaint you that he forgot to tell you that you should not be commanded by the Earl of Peterborough.

The Duke of Marlborough "for Yourself" [Robert Harley].

1706, August 26 [N.S.]—My Lord Raby has acquainted me with your letter, as that came to his hands but yesterday, it is impossible for him to do other than take his leave at Berlin; as to his going to Vienna, he insists on the same allowances Lord Sunderland had and that of being declared of the Council, which last can hardly be refused to any Ambassador that can desire it. You will consult Lord Treasurer in this; Mr. Stepney has now eight pounds a day, and I am afraid you will find nobody of quality will go cheaper, his equipage being already made, and this commission is likely to last no longer than the war. I am of opinion you will not find a better choice, but in this, as in all things else, I submit to your better judgment. You have forgot to send me the copies of Cranston's letters.

Earl Rivers to Lord Treasurer Godolphin.

1706, August 27.—I have had the honour of your Lordship's of the 21st and shall obey your commands in every particular, which I had answered sooner but was in hopes before this to have had a return to a letter I writ you from hence of the same date. I writ so fully to you in relation to the subsistence of the army that I will mention that matter no further, not doubting your Lordship's care in it.

I hope before I go I shall receive orders for the three hundred men from Plymouth. A weekly list that General Erle has sent to Mr. St. John will shew you how weak some of the regiments are, and what I am sorry to acquaint you with, that the men begin to grow sickly, which makes me press your Lordship to send us as soon as possible those regiments that were promised to be sent after us. If any difficulty should be found to procure transports for horses from Ireland, if you would send us the men with their their accoutrements and levy money, which will not amount to what the transport of the horses would come to, and which those that mount the horses left in Ireland must pay for, Colonel Richards assures me we shall not fail getting them good horses in Andalusia. The reason why I urge this the more is because

the five French regiments that if complete should have made the fourth part at least of what I have with me, are now not three hundred men besides officers, and there is little probability of recruiting them where we are to go.

The English regiments I have with me in such a voyage must be supposed by death and sickness to decrease in their number. However, I resolve with what I have to push what I am ordered to the utmost of my power.

As soon as Colonel Richards came I sent him to Plymouth to avoid any suspicion upon his account where we are going. He is to join me from thence and I will take him into the same ship with me to consult with him on our passage, and I intend to advise with him on all occasions.

M. Guiscard without taking any notice of me as I understand is gone to Exeter, which seems a little odd. I shall govern myself to him as I receive directions from your Lordship, though I cannot think him where I am now going of any use to me.

Though the wind should come fair it will be impossible for us to sail till to-morrow or next day, for till then the horse provisions cannot all be put on board, and if I had not taken due measures for it as soon as we came hither but had stayed for Mr. Coleby it could not have been got ready this ten days.

There is one Colonel Dampier, a French man that was recommended to me by Mr. Stanhope from the Hague, who pretended to go as a volunteer. He came from Holland with Brigadier Lisle Marre. I received him very civilly, but the Brigadier came to me and told me he believed him a dangerous intriguing man. I found that he writes often to the King of Prussia and the Electress of Hanover. Not knowing but he might keep other correspondence and reflecting what Lisle Marre had said made me order him back in some of the great ships that are parted from us. This is to prepare your Lordship lest he should make complaint.

Copy.

The Duke of Marlborough "to Your self" [Robert Harley].

1706, [August 28–] September 7.—I did acquaint you from Dendermond of the surrender of that place. I now write to Lord Treasurer my thoughts as to the acquainting Monsieur Vriberg with the Queen's resolution of having Mr. Stepney at Brussels, as I am sure that Holland will not like his being there, they being so foolish as to affect everything that may make these people think that they have the absolute government of them; when you have the Queen's commands, and have adjusted with Lord Treasurer, what is to be said to Monsieur Vriberg, I beg of you that you will give yourself the trouble of writing to Monsieur Buys, and my Lord Treasurer to the Pensionaire Heinsius, for fear that Vriberg should give it a wrong turn. I saw in a Dutch gazette that the English were forced back into Plymouth and the Dutch to Torbay, but I hope it is not true.

The Duke of Marlborough "to Yourself" [Robert Harley].

1706, August 30 [n.s.].—I am very much obliged to you for the two copies you sent me in yours of the 9th. You may be sure they shall not be seen by anybody. That part in which he mentions Cadogan, he is very much in the wrong, for if those troops had not been brought back they must have been cut to pieces. The man you have named is certainly the author.

If you will employ Captain Cowdal, he must be sent either to Italy or Spain, for we have here but one regiment which has not two hundred men in it, and the two regiments on the Rhine are also very weak, so that his coming to me will be loss of time.

Earl Rivers to Sir C. Hedges.

1706, September 2. Torbay.—There is no part of her Majesty's instructions that I shall more willingly obey than what relates to the good order and discipline of her troops, not only in obedience to her royal commands but likewise for the credit of her arms which heretofore have suffered so much from the want of it. But I must needs take notice to you that there is something wanting in my instructions which seems inconsistent with this extraordinary management of the Spaniards, for hitherto what means have been proposed to me, or what directions given how to carry the army baggage, the artillery, stores of war, and bread? If it be expected that I exact the carriage thereof from the country which upon our landing shall render us their obedience, our friendship may seem to them too burdensome, and no ways comformable to the fair promises that shall be made them. But supposing that they do condescend to our demands, the next doubt is, whether what they promise may be depended upon.

Certainly I have been informed that in Portugal and elsewhere we have been disappointed by depending on the country in this important article, and God forbid that this expensive expedition should prove abortive for want of the necessary means to march. I say not this with a design of aggravating the public expense, for if the Spaniards will readily come into it, and that it is judged that what they promise may be relied upon, this article shall not cost her Majesty a farthing. In the mean time I hope that her Majesty will be pleased to give me some instructions hereabouts, and the necessary means to put them in execution.

The same reflections are to be made as to the siege of ———— [*sic*, Cadiz?], for whether it be a formal attack or blockade, great quantities of earth must be moved, and whoever does it, either Spaniard or soldier, must be paid for it, and I have no fund nor indeed instructions thereabouts.

The weakness of our horse is so great in comparison of the numbers which it is possible the enemy may oppose against us, that it may be judged necessary to mount some of our foot as has been practised in Catalonia, but for so doing I desire to have her Majesty's orders and instructions.

And whereas my Lord Galway in his late manifesto did promise to all the King of Spain's subjects as well officers as soldiers, who out of a due sense of loyalty to King Charles should abandon the service of the Duke of Anjou, that they should enjoy the same posts or better, and enter immediately into present pay, pursuant to which divers regiments have been formed and paid by the Queen, of which there being not a word in my instructions, I desire that I may have the necessary orders thereabouts.

I am likewise very credibly informed, that by reason of the extreme dearness of the forage in Spain, which for more than ten months in the year must be had out of the public magazines, so that the dragoon cannot subsist upon his pay, as her Majesty has been sufficiently informed by my Lords Galway and Peterborough, I therefore hope that those under my command may be subsisted upon the same foot as those who serve in conjunction with the Portuguese, &c.

I am informed that the irregular price of the Spanish money wherewith the troops in Catalonia have been paid has caused no little confusion and discontent, whereas in Portugal, that current money has been regulated at a certain price. I desire that the same method of a fixed price may be made with us to avoid the disorders which fractions and those variable pursuant to the irregular courses of exchange must occasion.

Whereas it is possible (which however God Almighty avert it from us) that the King of Spain's person and her Majesty's troops which are with him may be reduced to such terms that nothing less than this fleet and this army could save them. The which it is not possible for me to know but from Portugal, and it may be not until we are engaged in the siege of ————, which it seems by my instructions is the only object of this present expedition.

The Dutch troops upon this expedition do expect that we should supply them with ammunition as indeed they have been supplied in Catalonia. However I desire to have her Majesty's order for so doing.

Copy.

Queen Anne to Secretary Harley.

[1706,] September 2.—"I forgot when you weare heare to ask you whether you had writt to the Bishop of London about the French minister he recommended. I spoke with him myself when I was at Kensington, and he promised me to take care the book that is called my Life should not be printed, but I dare not trust to the Bishop in this matter, and therefore desire you would give yourself the trouble to enquire after this book, and take care it may not be printed, for it would vex me very much to have such a ridiculous thing as this is appear in the world.

I suppose when you told me Lord Treasurer desired the horse and dragoons in Ireland should be sent into the north you only meant those that weare intended to be sent abroad, and I hope if any more should be thought necessary you will take care the

regiment I am conserned for may not be ordered, and forgive my impertinence in troubling you soe often on this subject, since it is my consern for my friend that is the occasion of it. I am

Your very affectionett freind

Anne R."

For Mr. Secretary Harley.

Earl Rivers to Sir C. Hedges.

1706, September 11. Torbay.—The Marquis de Guiscard and the other foreign officers being gone, I judged it proper to send for Mr. Richards from Plymouth, the winds being still out of the way.

Upon deliberation on our present affairs, Sir C. Shovell, Lieut.-General Erle and Sir John Norrice being present, there appeared several powerful reasons to send Richards to Lisbon sooner than was designed.

In the first place that he might bring away with him the King of Spain's envoy, Father Cien Fuegos, a Jesuit, a person entirely informed of the Spanish affairs and a native of Seville whose assistance in this present expedition is esteemed of the greatest importance.

The want of money, which he must endeavour to bring along with him, as much as he can, and for so doing to procure the King of Portugal's leave.

That if possible he may bring with him some pilots of Seville.

That he may bring with him all the necessary advices that may any ways influence our affairs.

And lastly that he may induce the King of Portugal to march some troops that way and particularly some horse.

And it being judged that if he is only sent when we are past Faro, all or most of these expectations will be of no effect because they can never join us in time. Wherefore we have judged it necessary that I should write to the King of Portugal giving him an account of our design which at present can have less consequences considering that it is already communicated to the States of Holland and guessed at almost by everybody else. But in case her Majesty does not approve of this our resolution, you will be pleased to let me know by express her Majesty's further orders.

Postscript.—The Colonel of the Artillery having made this additional demand of store of war which has been approved of by ———(*sic*) I hope that the Queen and Council will give the necessary orders to the Board of Ordnance thereabouts.

Copy.

The Duke of Marlborough to [Robert Harley].

1706, September [9–]20.—I very much approve of the answer that is sent to Monsieur Buys, as they would also do, were they not cursed with the passion of jealousy. It is gone to so extravagant a length as that some fear the French may be brought to Loo, but I hope the honest party is much the greater, so that they will

approve of a treaty for guaranteeing any future treaty of peace we may have with France, which must be our security, for there can be no relying on anything France shall promise.

Lord Godolphin to Earl Rivers, Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Forces in Torbay, Devon.

1706, September 14. Windsor.—I have the honour of your Lordship's of the 10th and have also seen the letters you have written by the same post to Mr. Secretary Hedges, which will be laid before the Queen to-morrow for her Majesty's directions upon them. In the meantime I was unwilling to lose this post in acquainting you that I had received your letter, and that I shall do my best to send you credit at Lisbon as you desire.

The reasons you give for sending Mr. Richards as soon as possible to Portugal seem to be very well grounded, but perhaps it may be necessary he should have some latitude in the instructions you give him and that he be ordered to make his application to the King of Portugal, according to the posture in which he shall find my Lord Galway upon his arrival at Lisbon; for if my Lord Galway be in a condition and within any reach of assisting your enterprise with a body of horse, he has been written to these three weeks upon that subject, and informed of the design of your expedition that he might according turn his thoughts to every possibility of helping you in it; but no certain directions or instructions upon this point can properly be sent you from hence at present because of the uncertainty we have long been in as to the state of the King of Spain's affairs since his joining the Portuguese army, the communication with Portugal being wholly interrupted, and even by the way of France the accounts we used to have fail us, there being now five posts due from Holland, which was scarce ever known at this time of year.

As to the secret of your expedition, the sending away of the French officers has made it none, that you are not going to France but to Spain, but to what part of Spain, if it be guessed at, is not known even in Holland itself, much less in Portugal; and the reason why the Queen was shy of having it known there till you were passed Faro was for fear of the importunity of the King of Portugal to have the troops landed there, and his uneasiness which would naturally follow upon his being refused.

To this consideration may be added that perhaps the Portuguese will not be very fond of having C[adiz ?] in our hands, because the consequence of that would be to transfer from Lisbon the expense made there upon account of the fleet, to that place.

I do not mention these things to hinder you from sending away Richards immediately to Portugal, but to let you see it may be reasonable to give him some caution, not to apply to the King of Portugal for assistance till he has first learned how far my Lord Galway, that is to say the King's army, may be in a capacity to give it; but these are only my own notions, you will receive the Queen's directions upon the subject of your letters, after to-morrow night, from the Secretaries of State.

ROBERT HARLEY to EARL RIVERS.

1706, September 15. Windsor Castle.—Both your Lordship's letters to Mr. Secretary Hedges, dated September 11, at Torbay were received the 13th inst., at night; and they having been laid before her Majesty, I am commanded (Mr. Secretary Hedges being gone into Wiltshire) to return your Lordship the following answers to all the particulars of your letter.

Your Lordship begins with that part of your instructions which relates to the preserving good order and discipline, and the Queen is extremely pleased with the remarks you make upon it, it being agreeable to what her Majesty expected from your Lordship's zeal for her service and your own experience in military affairs, as well as from your good sense and regard to your own honour and that of the nation, and it is no ways to be doubted but you will have the assistance and compliance herein from all the general officers and others under your command.

As to those points wherein you desire direction I will take them in the same order as they lie before me in your Lordship's letters.

1. Relates to the procuring of carriage for the artillery, bread and necessary baggage for the army.

The answer to this is, that if you find the country so well inclined to you that you can have this done without money, so as it can be depended upon, it will be very well; and in every instance your Lordship will be as saving of the public money as is consistent with the carrying on the service. Your Lordship is entrusted with power to expend money for this and other necessary services, and my Lord Treasurer hath taken care to furnish your Lordship with credit at Lisbon.

And in case your Lordship succeeds in the first attempt upon Seville, you will readily find money amongst those merchants upon your Lordship's bills drawn upon England.

2. The next point is that of paying labourers in case of a siege, &c. The answer to this is the same as the former, the case being parallel, and it is left to your Lordship's good management.

3. As to your Lordship's mounting any of your foot, that also is left to your Lordship's judgment to act therein as you shall judge the good of the service requires.

4. The instruction my Lord Galway had for forming troops out of such Spaniards as should embrace the interest of King Charles (how far it hath succeeded you will hear from Lord Galway); however the Queen thinks it very reasonable your Lordship should have the same power and therefore recommends it to your Lordship's care; but if you think it needful you shall have instruction sent you in form for that purpose.

5. As to what your Lordship proposes of furnishing forage to the Dragoons, it is the Queen's intentions that the Dragoons under your Lordship's command should be upon as good a foot as those under my Lord Galway, but her Majesty will not allow of any increase upon the establishment of their pay; but that

douceur of their forage may be allowed them in the same manner as it is to her Majesty's Dragoons now in Spain out of the contingent money.

6. What your Lordship proposes as to the regulation of the value of the money for the payment of the troops is very requisite; and therefore what you receive from the paymaster at Lisbon will be under the same regulation as it is already; and whatever bills your Lordship shall draw anywhere else it will be in your own power to regulate that so as to do justice to the Queen and to the soldiers.

7. As to what your Lordship desires of particular instructions in case (which God forbid) that the King of Spain should be reduced to such straits and that the case should happen which you mention :—

All that can be said upon that subject is this; the forces and fleet are sent to recover and secure Spain to King Charles, that which appears at present to be the likeliest way to do it is by the taking of Cadiz in the method proposed, and therefore that is to be chiefly in your eye, but because it is impossible at this distance to accommodate your Lordship's instructions to every unforeseen accident which may happen, therefore it must be left to your Lordship's judgment to do what is best for and most conducing to the main end and design you are sent upon.

8. As to the furnishing of the Dutch troops with ammunition, they having no train with them, it is hoped they go out with a good proportion, but in case that should be exhausted, and they are not furnished by the States, you are not to let them be unserviceable for want of ammunition.

I have now gone over all the particulars of this letter and I hope your Lordship will find the answers distinct and plain.

And now as to your Lordship's proposal in your other letter to send away Mr. Richards immediately, her Majesty is pleased to approve of that, and that he bring with him Father Cienfuegos or any one else who may be proper to assist you in your designs; as for his bringing of money that is answered above, that my Lord Treasurer hath sent you credit upon Lisbon. But great care hath been taken here to conceal the place you are designed for from the Portuguese, who it is reasonable to be supposed will do their utmost to draw the fleet to come to disembark the forces at Lisbon, if it were only from the great profit they receive by it, and for the same reason will be always averse to your succeeding at the place you are intended for, which must necessarily deprive them of so great advantages.

Therefore Mr. Richards ought to be directed to go in the first place to Lord Galway, to whom an account of the design you go upon hath been transmitted a month since, and his Lordship being upon the place will be the best judge what instructions Mr. Richards is to follow, and accordingly you are to write to Lord Galway to give Mr. Richards such directions as he thinks best for his speaking to the King of Portugal; and if your Lordship think it proper to write to the King of Portugal you are to enclose the same to Lord Galway, who according to

the situation of affairs there will order Mr. Richards to deliver your letter or not; but it may be your Lordship may find it easier only to write a short letter to that King in general, referring yourself to what Mr. Richards shall tell him by word of mouth and desiring his assistance in the particulars he shall mention.

My Lord Galway will certainly have informed himself what assistance he or the Portuguese can give to your undertaking, and therefore can best direct Mr. Richards how to behave himself with the King of Portugal and his ministers.

For the reason above mentioned your Lordship will find it will be best not to take pilots from Lisbon, which will discover the place designed and alarm the Portuguese, and Sir Cloudesley Shovell knows best whether as good pilots are not to be had at Faro or Lagos for the place you go to.

This is what I have received in command from her Majesty to signify to your Lordship. I shall only add my most hearty wishes that your Lordship's success may be answerable to your great ability, and to assure you that I am as much your servant as any one in the world.

Postscript.—The additional demand of stores of war your Lordship mentions did not come in your letter. I suppose it was forgot to be put into the packet.

Signed.

Sarah Duchess of Marlborough to Robert Harley.

1706, September 18. Woodstock Park.—You are so very obliging and good to me upon all occasions, that I can't send the enclosed without giving you many thanks for your last favours, and knowing how precious your time is and how well it is employed, I will take no more of it, than to assure you I am with a great deal of respect &c.

Earl Rivers to Lord Treasurer Godolphin.

1706, September 19. Torbay.—I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 14th and one from Mr. Secretary Harley of the 15th current, with her Majesty's instructions in relation to those points, which I lately writ about, which being so very plain and ample I have nothing more to add than my most humble thanks to your Lordship for the same.

The only difficulty I perceive is about sending away of Richards, Mr. Secretary Harley seems to insinuate should be done immediately to my Lord Galway, to the end he might receive his directions how he should behave himself towards the King of Portugal, &c. But it being visible that he cannot go so far as Madrid and it may be further either by sea or land, and return in time either to do me any service in Portugal, or to be assistant at my landing, I have resolved not to send him until then, and in the mean time to send him to Lisbon, where he is to give out

that he is returning as express by sea with the Queen's answer to that dispatch which he carryed over land, and only called in at Lisbon to deliver Mr. Methuen some letters from the Secretary of State.

In effect he will not stay longer than to bring off the King of Spain's envoy, in case he can be induced to come.

By means of the said envoy to dispatch some faithful person over land with letters to the King and my Lord Galway, which however shall be writ in cypher.

To bring us what advices and informations he can of our affairs in Spain, and particularly those that will most influence our enterprise.

And lastly to bring with him what ready money the Queen's paymaster in Lisbon can immediately raise upon the credit sent him by your Lordship.

After which he is immediately to rejoin the fleet, and so soon as I am got on shore I will send him or somebody else to my Lord Galway. I cannot do it before because I have nobody with me that knows either the language or the country, whereas for the way we first designed I am sufficiently provided. This is, my Lord, what we have here agreed upon, in case it meets with her Majesty's approbation, and I hope it is very conformable to her intentions.

The wind sprung up very fair on Tuesday last, but it came all together and so much of it that not a transport ship could weigh.

Postscript.—Although the wind be a little slackened, the Dutch have not been able to get off all their provisions, but I hope however that we shall sail to-morrow.

I forgot to advise your Lordship that besides the 100*l.* which I lent the Dutch Brigadier pursuant to your orders signified to me by Mr. Taylor, I have likewise lent him 1,000*l.* more.

I am not as yet able to give you an exact account of what our paymasters have received from the collectors of the customs and excise, for one of them who has received considerable sums is absent, but he will be here to-night and by the first opportunity I will send you an account thereof not but they have given already their receipts to the collectors, from whom you may have it.*

Copy.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

[1706, September] 19, Thursday.—I return the papers you sent me last night, with the Dresden passes signed by the Queen. Whether the King of Sweden's assurances be real or not, I am of opinion it is our business at present to let him think we believe them to be so, and to let Monsieur Schutz see we make no question but the Elector his master will make use of all his

* There was a letter to the same effect addressed to Secretary Harley on the same day, of which a copy is kept in this collection.

influence to keep the King of Sweden in that reasonable temper; and if the Elector were made mediator of that matter, I don't see how England could desire better, but whether Schutz has orders to advance any proposition of that nature I know not.

I think the French will and must indeed abandon Italy, in which case our endeavour must be to make the Duke of Savoy follow them, if we can. I have said so much to-day to the Comte de Briançon upon that subject that I hope there will not be much difficulty for him to engage his Master in it, if his letter by this post can come in time for it; for unless we can prevail with him to do this, the consequence of this victory at Turin will be that the remnant of the French army will be sent into Spain, which we can't be too early in endeavouring to prevent.

I hear the Duke of Argyll will be here to-morrow. I find by the Duke of Marlborough's letters to me he will expect his commission of major-general should be ready for him, and perhaps other things which will not be ready for him. The Duke of Marlborough writes also that these new commissions must all bear date from the day of the battle of Ramillies.

Robert Harley to Earl Rivers.

1706, September 22, Sunday night, ten o'clock. Windsor Castle.—Yesterday I received your Excellency's letter by a flying packet at two in the afternoon. I sent those enclosed for the Board of Ordnance and Mr.Burchet as directed, and also yours to My Lord Treasurer together with that to myself with the Council of War, and the disposition of powder, &c., to Windsor; and this day your letter was read before her Majesty who has commanded me to signify to your Excellency her approbation of your proposal about Mr. Richards as being what is agreeable to the service you are going upon, and the circumstances and particulars you mention relating to his going are the most proper upon this occasion.

As to the ordnance stores I suppose that Board will give you an account what is ordered upon it.

As to the arms and the clothing to be disposed to such troops as shall come in to you and can be formed into regiments your Excellency will have full order by the next post, which if you should have a fair wind, will yet be with you before you can have need to put them in use.

Earl Rivers to Lord Treasurer Godolphin.

1706, September 27. Torbay.—Enclosed I send your Lordship a copy of the manifesto, which I design to publish upon my arrival in Spain and am now printing here in Spanish, as likewise her Majesty's order for preventing the pillaging the country. If her Majesty thinks fit to make any declaration therein, it shall be published in the next which I shall have occasion to make.

I intended for the greater encouragement of the Spaniards to come in to us to have expressed their freedom of navigation and trade in more general and universal terms, but finding Sir Cloudesley Shovell a little scrupulous in this matter I gave it over until I have her Majesty's further directions therein, though it may be there is nothing more proper to induce the Spaniards to come in to us than the security of their estates which they expect the return of from the Indies, and the freedom of exporting the growth of their country in as ample a manner as they practised during the last war when they were in our alliance; and although I have offered in my manifesto to give the loyal Spaniards my passports for the security of their navigation, yet upon further consideration I shall be very cautious in doing it without her Majesty's directions therein, and I find Sir C. Shovell of the same sentiment.

Although I have had sufficient instructions about entertaining such troops as shall abandon and desert the service of the Duke of Anjou, it is likewise very probable that some of the most zealous partisans of King Charles's will offer to raise some body of horse and foot for his service; though I doubt not but that the country when the government thereof shall be regulated will find ways and means to support them, yet in the mean time it may be judged necessary to subsist them, we having already arms and clothes to give them, about which however I desire to have her Majesty's instructions, which I hope to make so good use of as not to spend a penny of the public money, more than what shall be absolutely conducive to her service.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1706, [September 27–] October 7.—I see by the end of yours that Monsieur Buys has answered Lord Treasurer's and your letter, if there be anything material you will be pleased to let me know it, for that may be of use to me at the Hague. As to what you say of Holland's being against the union, I have not heard that, but it is certain that some amongst them have very unreasonable jealousies; for the good of Europe I think this war must continue another year, so that I hope all honest Englishmen will be for it; I intend to be at the Hague at the end of this month, or the beginning of the next; and shall make no longer stay there than what will be absolutely necessary.

As the Parliament grows near, I beg at your leisure, I may hear as often as may be.

THE SAME to [THE SAME].

1706, October [1–]11. — I have by this post sent an "Observator" to Mr. St. Johns. I should be extremely obliged to you if you would speak to Lord Keeper, and see if there be any method to protect me against this rogue, who is set on by Lord Haversham. If I can't have justice done me, I must find some friend that will break his and the printer's bones, which I

hope will be approved on by all honest Englishmen, since I serve my Queen and country with all my heart. When I have been at the Hague I shall be better able to let you know if Franco's coming may be of any use, but I fear the ill humour is already gone beyond his reach.

Sir Charles Hedges to Earl Rivers.

1706, October 1. Whitehall.—I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 29th past with the draught of your declaration, and have laid them before her Majesty, but have not yet received her commands concerning the instructions your Lordship desires at the close of your letter. As to the passports for the security of the Spaniards' trade and navigation, I believe that cannot be done effectually but by the Queen, in the terms and manner as have been adjusted by the Council and upon the memorials of the Envoy of Holland; for other passports will not be a security against the English and Dutch men-of-war and privateers, though it is certainly very right for your Lordship to give them all the assistance you can for securing their navigation and the freedom of their trade in case it can be done without opening a gap for covering and colouring the effects of the enemy. I believe all this matter will be further considered when her Majesty returns from Newmarket, and what instructions her Majesty thinks fit to give will be sent after you, for the wind being come fair, it is hoped you will not be detained any longer at Torbay. Your Excellency will have herewith the news we have by the three Dutch mails come in this afternoon together with what the last letters bring from Lisbon, which I desire you will communicate to Sir Cloudesley Shovell. I have only to add that it is of the greatest importance to let the Earl of Galway hear from you as soon as possible.

Copy.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1706, October 3. Newmarket.—I return you the letters you sent me with many thanks, and am glad to find by them the Duke of Marlborough gives over the thought of any other siege, since it seems to me to be only losing time and men to little purpose if Holland will not continue the war, and if they will or but only make a show of doing it, I think 'tis very plain we may have the peace insisted upon in our letter, with a great many thanks from all parties concerned, France not excepted.

I find by the Duke of Marlborough's letter to me, as also by letters from the Pensionaries, Heinsius and Buys, that they were extremely uneasy for want of the preliminary treaty, that is to say, to have their barrier settled; but 'tis impracticable to have the guarantee of our succession and the guarantee of a future peace in the same treaty, for the reason expressed in our answer to M. Buys' letter of the 25th September.

The Duke of Marlborough desires the Queen's leave to speak plainly to them in Holland about the French propositions. Her Majesty is desirous he should not only have her leave but her orders to do, and has commanded me to let you know as much, that you signify her pleasure to him accordingly by this post.

He ought to have powers, and I suppose he has, for concluding and signing this preliminary treaty, and Mr. Stepney ought also to meet powers and instructions in that matter at the Hague.

The Pensionary Heinsius in his letter to me seems desirous he should come first to the Hague before he goes to Brussels, his argument is, *pour eviter des inconvenients*; 'tis easy to see what that means, but as far as it is now possible I think in that we might comply with them.

I have no objection to the draft which the Duke of Marlborough proposes to print, except some literal amendments, faults only of the transcriber; but the naming of the treaty of the Pyrenees, I doubt that may fright the people of Holland so much as to take off the impression which otherwise some of his arguments would not fail to make upon them. I have therefore drawn a stroke under some few lines which I submit to be left out, and in their room inserted one or two small additions in the margin.

I hope your West Indies news is true.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1706, October 10.—I herewith return the letters and papers you sent me with many thanks for the favour of your letter, and your being so particular in the matter upon which I desired your thoughts, though I differ in opinion. I think the matter of elections was but a pretext taken in the last session, there was an averseness at bottom to do anything that they thought would give any merit to the Whigs, though it was and is a demonstration that without them, and their being entire, the Queen cannot be served; but the leaning to what I take to be an impossibility will, I think, make them jealous and uneasy, and at best but passive. The consequence of which is that the majority will be against us upon every occasion of consequence. I hope however the Queen's service will go on, and for myself I am as little concerned as one need to be upon such an occasion; but I am not blind nor asleep.

The topics you mention would not hurt us alone, if there were not a preparation to make those uneasy and jealous from whom only we can have, or hope for, any help.

I think you do very well to have a watch upon Robinson. As to the affair of Mr. Clement I shall be Saturday night in London, so I must beg it will be deferred till then.

I wish the convoy might be dispatched that is to bring over the Duke of Marlborough.

Earl Rivers to Sir Charles Hedges.

1706, October 10. *Association*, ten leagues to the westward of Scilly.—Ever since our departure from Torbay we have scarcely had any other than contrary winds from the S. to the S.W. and sometimes so very hard that a great part of our transports have been forced to bear away to the number I judge of 50 or 60, and yesterday the *Barfleur* on which I was embarked myself sprung so dangerous a leak as to be judged incapable of continuing the voyage, so that with a great deal of difficulty I got myself and some of my servants on board the Admiral (?).

Sir Cloudesley Shovell having given his rendezvous orders at Lisbon we are in hopes that the most part of our separated transports will be there and therefore it is judged proper that we should go ourselves, the wind permitting us so to do which at present is [*blank*].

My intentions are to tell the King of Portugal that my orders are for Alicant, to the end I may conceal our real design, and this I will persist in until I have her Majesty's further instructions, and in the meantime I will endeavour to put our troops on shore in quarters of refreshment until we are joined by the rest, to procure which I will send Richards before me to Lisbon.

What I have to request is that all possible dispatch may be given to those transports which have been forced back to England or Ireland, and whereas it is most probable that we have lost a considerable number of horses, the importance of which is so notorious in this expedition, her Majesty is the best judge whether a convenient number be sent with the first ships to recruit what is wanting.

Copy.

Sir Charles Hedges to Earl Rivers.

1706, October 15. Whitehall.—I trouble your Excellency with a copy of my last which was in answer to yours of the 29th past. As to the instructions mentioned in the close of that letter, her Majesty thinks your Excellency as General has sufficient authority to dispose and direct those matters without any particular instructions, and does not think it for the advantage of her service, or that it is possible to give particular instructions for all cases that may happen, but that it is more proper to leave the direction of such matters as tend to the furtherance of the main design to the prudence and discretion of the General. Your Excellency will receive this by the hands of Mr. Crowe whom her Majesty has honoured with the character of her Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary for making a treaty of commerce with the King of Spain, in consideration of his being well versed in the Spanish Trade, of the interest he has with his Majesty, the knowledge he has of the people and country, and of the experience she has had of his zeal for her

service, upon which accounts her Majesty does not doubt he will be of good use also to your Excellency and to the Earl of Galway to whom he is to repair without loss of time with such accounts and proposals for the co-operation and assisting each other as you shall judge proper. This gentleman and the Earl of Galway are well acquainted and in very good correspondence. You will find the state of affairs about Madrid much altered since you left England, but if proper measures are taken and vigorously pursued all will soon be retrieved. However her Majesty does not think fit to alter anything you have in direction for putting the chief design on Seville and Cadiz in execution, having the greatest hopes of success to her arms under your Excellency's command and looking on it as the surest and speediest way to reduce the whole kingdom; but whether you succeed or not, it is her Majesty's pleasure that you continue in Spain for the support of King Charles, and in order thereto that you join the Earl of Galway as soon as may be after the expedition against Cadiz is at an end, in case the King of Spain and the Earl of Galway shall judge your junction will tend to the furtherance of the reducing the kingdom to his Catholic Majesty's obedience. When you are master of Cadiz you will leave such a garrison there as shall be judged fit for its safety, and then take the proper measures for joining the King's army; or in case you shall not be able to make yourself master of that town and have no prospect of success there, you are forthwith to consider and concert with the Earl of Galway of the most proper means for joining and proceed accordingly either by re-embarking her Majesty's troops or in such other way as shall be judged best for her service.

All her Majesty's troops in Spain and Portugal are to be under Lord Galway's direction who has the eldest commission, and the Queen takes it for granted that your Excellency has no objection to it.

Upon the news of the *Barfleur's* coming back I thought fit to send you this by the *Tartar* or *Sorlings*, since they are now like to be with your Excellency before Mr. Crowe.

[Robert Harley to Lord Godolphin.]

1706, October 15. Brampton.—I received this morning the honour of your Lordship's letter of the tenth instant. I arrived here but last night late, and with other letters from London I received a private one from the Duke of Marlborough with one enclosed from the Elector of Hanover to his Grace, which I send herewith to your Lordship. The public letters are delivered to Mr. Secretary Hedges, who I doubt not hath attended your Lordship with them. Your Lordship may please to remember that Mr. Schutz said there was no such treaty designed by his master as the King of Prussia would set on foot, and that it was only a tentative of that Court to fish out the inclinations of the Queen and the Elector, and to set on foot some sort of negotiation with Sweden by which he might get something.

As to the other particulars my Lord Duke mentions about the treaty for the succession and the barrier, as also for guaranteeing the peace, I wrote as fully as I could to my Lord M[arlborough] Thursday se'nnight, and I think mentioned the same to your Lordship, that I humbly conceive that those treaties should be finished as soon as possible, and also the affair of Munster, for those two points are made use of by the ill intentioned in Holland to the prejudice of England. The project Lord Halifax brought over I have left sealed up with Mr. Lewis, who will bring it to your Lordship whenever you will please to command it. I think the objections my Lord Halifax makes to the barriers being too generally expressed, and that it ought to be more particularly specified, are very just; but if they are obstinate in it, under pretence they cannot decently particularise places which yet are not in their power, I humbly proposed to my Lord Duke to consider whether that matter might not be accommodated by putting the particulars into a secret article, but I doubt not his Grace will find out a proper method to settle that point.

As to home affairs, what I wrote to your Lordship was in the sincerity of my heart, and what I could collect from my conversation with both parties, and of which I am at any time ready to give your Lordship the particulars, but far be it from me to espouse any opinion of my own, or to differ from your Lordship's judgment; I shall always be ready, when required, and never but then, to give my poor thoughts and such reasons as I have, and when I have done that I know myself too well to be fond of any notions of my own. I have no other views but the Queen's service with that attachment to your Lordship and my Lord Marlborough which I shall always preserve.

The reason I mentioned elections in my letter was, because that occasion of stumbling is in a great measure removed; and from the little experience I have had, the attempting to bend everybody to one measure in that affair hath proved one of the greatest means of ruining the expectation of that party which hath attempted it. I have often seen the foundation laid of blowing up each of the factions by that very method and the reason is plain; for those gentlemen who think themselves to be independent, and would be thought to be so, but yet would support the Queen and serve her ministers, expect their compliance therein should be accepted, and that they should be left to themselves in personal friendships and matters which they will always think remote from the government's observation, and that if they vote for the public service of the government, and support of the ministers, more ought not to be expected of them. Indeed I have not been able to answer them when they have said, why should not everybody's service be accepted of as far as he will go, and it is not impossible that one step may draw on another. This I am certain, many of the most staunch Whigs (not whimsical) have, and do frequently lament the fury of their leaders, and have rejoiced when their presumption was humbled; and to use an expression of one of them, that if they were gratified

in all they desire, they would immediately be undone. I am very far from making them jealous. I did not mean that places should be given to others, but I was humbly of opinion that whoever would come in a volunteer to the service should be accepted as far as he would go, and I am the more confirmed in this opinion because those who call themselves Whigs if united are the inferior number, and that they will not follow those who make themselves their leaders, but yet may be united in the Queen's service by her ministers, and yet at the same time they would make everyone else desperate, nay to use the words of themselves they have proscribed a great many who never differed, yet, from them ; and as to those who came into them, some whereof have surrendered themselves and gave elections to them and laid themselves at their feet, and yet they will not be contented with them, and every one who have helped to rescue them from the malice and rage of their adversaries and to make them a majority have been sensible that all that went for nothing and they were told more than once or twice expressly that they hoped in a little time to cast them off and do without them.

I have with grief observed that the leaders (or zealots rather) of both parties are frequent even now, in their reflections on the Queen's ministers, I mean your Lordship and my Lord M[arlborough]. I cannot but apprehend danger from both sides in the extreme, and therefore I am humbly of opinion to increase the number of those who would devote themselves to the Queen's and your service would be best; and I the rather mention this because so many who have been lately obliged pay their acknowledgments to and real dependence on other people. As to myself I have made all the application imaginable to those who would be thought the chiefs of that faction, and there is nothing I will not do for the Queen's service and the support of her ministers, neither would I have troubled your lordship with this long scribble, but that your lordship's indulgence has encouraged me to tell you the truth, and what you may when you please have confirmed from the mouths of those of that very party who have no little interest in both Houses ; and now I have said this I beseech you lordship to be so just to me as to be assured I have no measures, nor will have any but what shall be submitted to the test of your better judgment, and that you will have the goodness to impute it to my excess of zeal when I cannot forbear saying that this ensuing session may be made very easy or very difficult by either giving or sparing a few good words without any further engagement than to let those who are not stigmatised by any particular folly know that they need not be desperate. I have now tired your lordship's patience with my impertinence and will add nothing more than that having shot my bolt there remains nothing further for me but to obey your commands.

Copy.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1706, October 17.—Yesterday there came letters of the fleet of the 10th. Fifteen leagues west from Scilly they had met with

very foul weather and cross winds. However the weather was then come fair, and they were gone on to Lisbon, which it seems was their rendezvous in case of separation, though much dispersed. The *Barfleur* in which Lord Rivers was had sprung a leak and is sent home. The Queen has sent her orders to them this day to Lisbon.

Lord Godolphin to [Earl Rivers].

1706, October 17.—Finding by your letter of the 10th to the Secretary of State, dated fifteen leagues westward from Scilly that you had met with bad weather, which had separated great part of your fleet and transports and that in that case your rendezvous being appointed at Lisbon, the wind coming fair again you had resolved to go thither, and upon your arrival not to own your design to the King of Portugal, but to acquaint him your orders were to go straight to Alicante; and finding by the same letters from your Lordship and from the Admiral that your horses had suffered very much, the Queen upon consideration of this misfortune seeing that it was impossible in point of time, were there no other difficulty, to recruit your horses from hence, and thinking on the other side that since you were under a necessity of going to Portugal it might look like too great a distrust of that King if you should absolutely conceal your intentions from him, her Majesty has thought fit to allow you a latitude to say that though your instructions are positive to go to Alicante, yet in case you see room to hope for any success at Seville or Cadiz as you pass there, or that the King of Portugal be in inclination and condition to supply you with horses for that attempt, in that case her Majesty has commanded you to desire his assistance in this affair, which if it succeeds will be an entire security to his commerce for the future, the French having no port to friend nearer to Toulon except Cadiz.

This argument may be of some weight with the King of Portugal, and you will, I doubt, be under a necessity of applying to him, both for your want of horses, and because I am afraid you will be forced to stay at Lisbon some time in expectation of your scattered transports.

If ever you come to join the King of Spain the Queen has determined my Lord Galway shall have the chief command, but that you shall not be commanded by my Lord Peterborough.

Sir Charles Hedges to Earl Rivers.

1706, October 17. Whitehall.—Yesterday I received the honour of your Excellency's of the 10th inst. and am very sorry to find you have had such continual bad weather since your putting to sea, and that the ship you were on board had so great a misfortune as to oblige her to return. She is arrived with the *Tartar* and *Sorlings* at Spithead, and all diligence is used to send the two last to Lisbon, the place of their rendezvous since the fleet was separated by storm, in hopes of meeting you there.

The Prince's Council tell me those ships stay only for the Queen's orders, and I dispatch them to-night that there may be no sort of delay.

The first thing in which your Excellency desires her Majesty's directions is, concerning the concealment of the real design from the King of Portugal; her Majesty approves of your precaution therein, and the secret is still to be kept as much as possible, and the King himself is not to know but it was designed for Alicant; but since by this accident of the fleet's being dispersed you were obliged to go to Lisbon, her Majesty would have you at such time as you judge proper let the King of Portugal know you have a latitude to stop at Cadiz, if you find a favourable opportunity for reducing it upon your arrival on the Spanish coast, and that you are at liberty to attempt making yourself master of it, if there be any room to hope for his Portuguese Majesty's assistance in that design, either by furnishing you with horses or troops or what else you may have occasion for to carry it on. Her Majesty thinks it is necessary to give some such intimation, since it is your fortune to be with him, for to go thither directly from Lisbon, without taking any notice, may give some disgust, which should be avoided with so necessary an ally at this juncture; besides your Excellency may procure some assistance, and especially in horses, if the king relishes such a design, but you are to be careful to give this intimation in such a manner and under secrecy that your real design may not be public, nor make you liable to pressures to stay at Lisbon for other operations.

As to the other point in your letter all possible care is to be taken to dispatch to Lisbon all ships and transports that shall be driven back to England and Ireland, but as to sending recruits of horses from home, it is not to be depended on, it not being possible to be effected in time: but if the King of Portugal can help you in that particular your Excellency may assure him so many as he furnishes to her Majesty's troops will be replaced by the next campaign. But that offer should not hinder your procuring all the assistance you can from the King upon his own account, which may reasonably be insisted on since her Majesty has made such an extraordinary effort, far beyond what she is obliged to do by the treaty, to assist the King of Portugal and support the King of Spain.

I have written to Mr. Methuen, and in case of his absence to Consul Milner, to press the King of Portugal to consent that the subsidies her Majesty pays for the 13,000 Portuguese may be remitted directly from hence to the Portuguese General in Spain, which her Majesty thinks is so reasonable a proposal that the King can not make any difficulty in consenting to it, though the Portuguese Ministers for private reasons may oppose it. Consul Milner will be able fully to acquaint your Excellency with the necessity of having this done and of the abuses that have been committed by the misapplication of the money to the prejudice of the service. It will be a great advantage to obtain this point and her Majesty hopes your Excellency will use your endeavours, and press the King to consent to it now the state of the war is

so much altered and his troops are in Spain, and the communication between them and Portugal is cut off, so that there is no sending money but by sea, and it may easier be done from hence at once than by sending first to Lisbon and afterwards to Valentia. Mr. Crowe, who was designed to call on your Excellency, will now take his passage directly to Alicant and be going in a few days, but will touch at Faro to learn news of the fleet, and if your Excellency has anything to impart to Lord Galway I believe it may be proper to lodge it in the Consul's hands at Faro, sending copies of the same also by another hand.

Copy.

General James Stanhope to Earl Rivers.

1706, October [18-]29, N.S. Valentia.—Being told from England that your Lordship is bound for this part of the world I beg leave to welcome your Lordship on the coast of Spain, where I hope this letter will find your Lordship attended with all manner of success in all your undertakings. The King of Spain and my Lord Galway [will] give your Lordship an account of our condition here, and of their thoughts and wishes how your Lordship's forces and the fleet should be employed. The Duke of Savoy has sent advice that he is certainly informed that the enemies are preparing to embark forty five battalions of their beaten army, whether to return to Italy or to be sent to Spain was uncertain, but the station of affairs in Italy makes it reasonable to believe they will give up that country, and push to make an end of the war in Spain, the only part where they have a prospect to succeed. A squadron in these parts would prevent their attempt on either side by sea. Your Lordship and the Admiral can best tell how far this is practicable.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1706, October 23.—I designed to have thanked you last night for your kind letter from Brampton, but I had so much to write, that it was not possible for me; and you ought to be a little the more indulgent to me, because I should not have had so much upon my hands if you had been here.

I believe Mr. Secretary Hedges will have informed you of the letters sent over by the Duke of Marlborough from the Elector of B[avaria] to himself and the States deputies, and also with what he has been directed by the Queen to write to his Grace upon that subject. The proposal appears to have been artificial and ensnaring enough, and I hope the answer is worded so cautiously as to prevent the ill effects of it, but that we can't be satisfied in till the return of the messenger dispatched with it last Monday. In the meantime I think we have the satisfaction of seeing plainly they have no hopes of succeeding by their underhand *pourparlers*, as Monsieur B[uys] terms it. By the way, I have not heard one word from him since you left us.

The other affairs of your province want your care as well as this. Some measures should be concerted about the King of Sweden. The King of Poland, by his example, begins to be troublesome too, and, I doubt, the King of Prussia is naturally not very unapt to catch that infection.

There is a new mystery about my Lord Raby, more impenetrable than the former. Mons. Spanheim has new credentials of ambassador here, provided my Lord Raby do continue at Berlin in that character.

Our affairs in Spain go very ill and want the speedy arrival of the fleet.

Mr. Methuen writes from Genoa that Lord Peterborough was there negociating for money; but he has [not?] vouchsafed to write himself, at least not to Mr. Secretary nor to me. Mr. Chetwynd writes he is expected by the Duke of Savoy at his camp. He talks of going back to Spain in a month, and his friends here give it out, but for my own part I expect him here by the meeting of the Parliament, and don't know whether I ought to be glad or sorry to prove deceived in that expectation.

We have great triumphs in Scotland. Not knowing if the account of them has reached you, I send you a very particular one in my letter from the Register. All Mr. Johnstone's friends have done very well, but I don't think he thanks them for it. Mr. Lewis has brought me several letters to G. Mason from D. F[oe?].

The Duke of Marlborough to [Robert Harley].

1706, [October 25-] November 4, n.s. Ghilingen.—You will see by the enclosed that it was printed before they could receive your remarks. What you have writ in a former letter concerning a title for Lord Keeper I think so reasonable that I shall with pleasure endeavour to serve him. My next will be from the Hague, where I will stay no longer than what may be absolutely necessary.

Sir Charles Hedges to Earl Rivers.

1706, October 28. Whitehall.—I herewith send your Excellency copies of my letters of the 1st, 13th, and 17th instant. We have not yet despatched Mr. Crowe, though we are doing it as fast as we can, and therefore it will be very convenient that your Excellency should give the earliest advices you can to the Earl of Galway of your proceedings and designs in order to your acting in concert one with the other.

Her Majesty having received an account from her Consul at Lisbon that the King of Portugal has made large remittances of money to the army in Spain and intends to send more, does not think it so proper a time to press him about the sending of the subsidies from hence directly thither, as is mentioned in mine to your Excellency of the 17th, till such time as what he has sent be replaced.

Your Excellency will see in the newspapers sent you from the Office what progress the Confederates are making in Italy. The French seem resolved to attempt the re-entering that country, whose *opiniâtreté* in that respect will it is hoped be of advantage to the service you go upon by diverting the enemy from sending a greater force into Spain.

Lord Godolphin to [Earl Rivers].

1706, October 29.—I hope this will find you safe and well at Lisbon, and your transports in good measure gotten together again. Your Lordship will soon be made sensible by the news you will meet at Lisbon that our affairs in Spain are in a condition to require an immediate reinforcement of the army there; and though the Queen does not recall your orders for the design upon Seville and Cadiz, from whence it is probable they have drawn what troops they can to strengthen their army, and consequently you may find those places weak, yet in case it should prove otherwise too much time ought not to be consumed in fruitless endeavours, and most especially if you should hear from the King of Spain and my Lord Galway that they desire that you should hasten to join them.

All our affairs in Italy and these parts of the world go as we could wish.

We hear my Lord Peterborough is at Genoa, but not one word from himself or of his intentions. The Queen seems inclined to send my Lord Galway a new commission for the chief command of all her troops in Spain and Portugal that shall happen to be together. Lord Galway has several times asked the Queen's leave to return, upon the account of his being a cripple; if he should persist in these desires, and the King of Spain should give way to it, the whole care and weight of that service would fall upon your Lordship. I shall be glad to have your own thoughts and intentions as to this and everything else relating to the Queen's service and to yourself, as plainly and fully as you can when you have opportunity of sending; and in order to that I hope before Sir Cloudesley Shovell leaves Lisbon he will settle a constant intercourse betwixt that place and the coast of Spain within the Straits.

Earl Rivers to Sir Charles Hedges.

1706, October 29 [o.s.]. Lisbon.—The storm which I gave you an account of in my last did so disperse our fleet that we never came together until we met in this river, where the Admiral had given his rendezvous, thirteen ships except two which we hear are safely arrived in Ireland, two supposed to be cast away, and the other nine in St. Ubals (Setuval); but the damage which of necessity we must receive in so much bad weather is very considerable, as well in our shipping as in our troops, and especially the horse, of which the Dutch only have given an account of 191 lost and most of the rest incapable of service. The English have suffered much less; but still our loss is very considerable, 1,000 foot missing,

100 dead, half the horse spoiled and dead. Notwithstanding this misfortune a Council of War—a copy of which I send to you—held the 27th current, in which was present Sir Cloudesley Shovell, has resolved to continue their voyage to the river of Seville and do their utmost endeavours to put her Majesty's orders in execution; I having here met with not a word from the King of Spain or my Lord Galway, neither does there appear any sufficient reasons to dispense with her Majesty's first orders.

In pursuance to this resolution I shall put the horses on shore for a few days until their ships and stalls be repaired, and until I can be provided with the necessary quantity of straw and barley to continue our voyage—our hay and oats being already consumed—which I presume will be about thirty days.

I do not hear that the Marquis de Villa de Arias, who commands in Andalusia, has above 4,000 foot and 500 horse, and these militia; however, the operations of the campaign being everywhere over it is very likely they may detach both from Estramadura and La Mancha some troops, and especially horse, in order to oppose us. This consideration is certainly sufficient to induce her Majesty to hasten those troops which are to follow us with all diligence possible, and particularly some horse which we so much want, and since our late losses at sea more than ever.

I shall immediately dispatch away to the King of Spain, giving him and my Lord Galway an account of our resolution and an exact detail of our forces, to the end that they may timely take their measures either to join us with some troops or to profit themselves by the diversion which we shall give to those of the enemy's. And so soon as I am past Faro I will send to the King of Portugal to give him an account where we are going, that he may likewise on his part move some of his troops towards Andalusia in order to join us, to which purpose I presume it might be necessary that her Majesty should write to the said King, which letter must be delivered to me here in case it arrives before I am gone, lest our secret, which as yet is in its entire, should be discovered too soon.

By order of my Lord Galway and of the late Ambassador, Mr. Methuen, here has been raised a Spanish regiment of foot, which regiment I take with me, out of the garrison of Alcantara, which at the beginning of the late campaign was made prisoners of war, and more might have been made had there been orders given for it, those people being very desirous to serve their lawful King; and now the Spanish envoy here, the Father Cien Fuegos, tells me that there are to the number of two regiments more who are desirous [to be] taken on.

I cannot imagine how the great superiority which the enemy have over us in horse is any other ways to be repaired than from Italy, which in all probability Prince Eugene can now spare, and which we may easily fetch in the spring from either Genoa or Leghorn, or rather Porto Specia. If her Majesty does approve of this she will be pleased to give her timely orders hereabouts to Sir Cloudesley Shovell and write to the Emperor.

Father Cien Fuegos makes a difficulty of going with us upon this expedition, having had no orders so to do from the King his master, nor indeed any intimation thereof from the Court of England; however, here is arrived six days ago the brother of the Duke de Penna Randa, a man of great quality and related to the Governor of Cadiz and to the Marquis de Villa de Arias: he will go along with us, and hopes to have a great influence upon those persons who is to have one of these Spanish regiments.

I have ordered Mr. Morrice to procure me money for three months' subsistence of the army, as likewise a proper sum for the contingent expenses of the army.

Postscript.—31 October.—Since I writ the foregoing part of my letter [I have seen?] the Portuguese Minister Don Diego Mendoza. They are desirous to have these troops landed and to induce me the more proposed several projects upon their own frontiers which besides the improbability of them are as you know so absolutely opposite to the Queen's orders. I told him that these troops were destined by the Queen to support the King of Spain (it is generally believed here that we are going to Valentia), and therefore I could not without her Majesty's orders change the design, however that there was still a very considerable detachment of troops which I believed upon his Portuguese Majesty's request the Queen would alter their landing; this I said to silence them.

But my fears go further, for I am apprehensive that these people, seeing that they cannot overrule us, will indirectly give us all the hindrance possible in the procuring the necessary straw and barley to continue our voyage: but of this more in my next.

Copy.

Sir Charles Hedges to Earl Rivers.

1706, October 29. Whitehall.—The state of affairs in Spain being much changed, according to the advices that come by the way of France, her Majesty thinks it for the advantage of the service to give your Excellency a latitude in your expedition against Seville and Cadiz, which is, that in case you meet with such difficulties as cannot be foreseen here, and that the reducing those places will take up so much time as that the army in Valentia and Catalonia may be put to great straits and extremities, and the King of Spain's affairs on that side may be in danger for want of your joining the Earl of Galway; and in case upon any notices you shall receive from the King of Spain or the Earl of Galway, you shall find they judge it necessary to join without loss of time for the support of his Catholic Majesty, you are at liberty to act accordingly as you find the exigency of his affairs may require.

Earl Rivers to General J. Stanhope.

1706, October 30 [o.s]. Lisbon.—The expedition I am sent upon being communicated to you near three months ago, I need say no more to you than that I am got so far upon our [way], being

forced into this port contrary to my intentions and her Majesty's instructions, having met at sea with such violent weather as has cruelly shattered our fleet, insomuch that I have not with me above 8,000 foot and 600 dragoons fit for service. However, in a Council of War held here it is resolved to continue our voyage to the river of Guadalquiver pursuant to her Majesty's orders and instructions, of which resolution I send Col. Worsley to give the King and my Lord Galway an account thereof. Having not met here with any letters from them, nor anybody that can give me an exact account of your affairs, and whereas it is possible that it may so happen that your circumstances are so bad that nothing but this fleet and troops can support you, I will in this case sacrifice every other consideration to the honour of the Queen's arms and the good of my country; but, as to a friend for whom I have singular esteem and in whom I have a particular confidence, I will tell you that I pretend to preserve the absolute command of these troops, which shall be kept entire, where ever the public service shall require them to go. With these conditions I accepted the command, and upon no others would I have come abroad. But lest you should not rightly understand me, I assure you that I am very willing to obey his Majesty's commands, and even my Lord Galway, provided I remain with the absolute and independent command of them, which being so very reasonable I doubt not but that your prudence and zeal for the public service will facilitate everything that shall stand in the way, if it should happen, which as yet I do not foresee, we should come together.

I have to write with this freedom to anybody else (*sic*), and therefore I entirely repose in your friendship to make a proper use of it.

Copy.

Earl Rivers to "the King of Spain."

[1706, October 30 *Endorsed.*]—The Queen my mistress having nothing more at heart than the honour and interest of your Majesty, and therefore being sensible of the great disappointments which you have lately met with in Spain, she has generously abandoned her intended expedition against France to send me and the troops under my command to serve you in Spain.

What I can assure your Majesty is that I never received her orders with greater pleasure, not only in consideration of the just engagement which we are all in to support your undoubted rights to the Spanish Monarchy, but that I have likewise this occasion to signalize my zeal among so many other brave chiefs who so gloriously and so successfully defend your cause.

The Queen my mistress has judged in her great prudence that nothing would more contribute to your Majesty's service than the reducing of Cadiz and with it all Andalusia to its due obedience. Her Majesty's instructions do therefore oblige me in the first place to go up the river Guadalquiver and oblige Seville to declare for your Majesty, so that by possessing that important capital and the neighbouring country to reduce Cadiz to a necessity of doing the same.

I am come thus far upon this design, but after being detained a great while by contrary winds at sea I met with so great storms that it will require near thirty days to repair our ships and put ourselves in a condition to continue our voyage, which by a Council of War we have resolved to do pursuant to her Majesty's instructions. Wherefore I have sent this gentleman to acquaint your Majesty therewith, to the end that I may receive your further commands, and that your Majesty may take some proper measures to support us, or by sending us some troops, or at least to profit yourself by the diversion which we shall give to those of the enemy.

I have thought fit to take with me the Spanish regiment which by order of Mr. Methuen was raised in your Majesty's name out of the garrison of Alcantara, and the Father Cuen Fuegos having represented to me that there are to the number of two more who are willing to render their due obedience to your Majesty, I have ordered the raising of them, one in the name of Don Joseph Chaver, brother to the Conde de Penna Randa, who came lately from Madrid, the other in the name of Major-General Richards, whom the Queen, my mistress, has so good an opinion of as to send him with me in this expedition, and therefore I hope that it will not only meet with your Majesty's approbation, but that he will not any ways be a sufferer in your Majesty's favour by his absence.

And as her Majesty has in a more particular manner incharged me to have all due care, tenderness and respect towards all your Majesty's subjects, and particularly in what relates to sacred matters, I give your Majesty my word and honour that you shall never have a just occasion of complaint in this point, and that in everything else that relates to your royal service nobody will receive your commands with greater obedience and respect.

Copy.

Sir Charles Hedges to Earl Rivers.

1706, November 1. Whitehall.—The *Ryc* frigate, on board which is my letter to your Excellency of the 17th past, being put back, I send you by another ship dispatched on purpose the enclosed duplicate of it and with duplicates also of my two last letters of the 28th and 29th, which were dispatched to your Excellency by the last packet to Lisbon.

I write by this conveyance to Sir Cloudesley Shovell to signify to him her Majesty's pleasure, that in regard there may be occasion for his giving assistance with the fleet in what shall be resolved on according to the exigency of the King of Spain's affairs, he is to contribute all he can with the ships under his command towards putting what shall be resolved on in execution in such manner as shall be judged advisable by a Council of War and most to the advantage of that service.

[H. St. John to Robert Harley.]

1706, November 5. Whitehall.—I cannot let this post go away without carrying you my thanks for the favour of yours of the 1st, though I hope before this arrives at Brampton the floods will be abated and you on your way thither.

Nothing, dear Master, will continue long which exceeds its due bounds, but a short-lived inundation may prove a lasting evil. The torrent may make such a havoc and leave such scars in a little time as years will not repair. If you will give me leave to bring the allegory still more close, no husbandman in his right senses ever let that flood violently in to spoil his grounds and destroy his fruits which with care he might have guided in gentle streams to the improvement of both.

I am glad you find the same disposition where you have been as I believe is in other places. It will be one of the greatest pleasures I can have to be instrumental under you in making a proper use of it; in order to this, sure we must have a little more commerce with some gentlemen than has been of late kept up.

I did not believe when I writ last to you that the application made to Mr. B[romley] and Sir T. H[anmer] was the effect of your advice, but I do imagine in fact there has been some negotiation of that sort.

This day George Granville received a letter from the captain of the *Kinsale* to inform him that Sir Bevil died a month ago in his passage. This misfortune has touched George to the quick. I hear, by the bye, that his brother has brought from the Barbados enough to make him easy, though not in any degree such a fortune as governors usually amass. George is by his will sole executor.

Adieu! make haste to town, where the public as well as your friends wants you. No man is more entirely, dear Master, yours, than H.

Charles III. of Spain to Earl Rivers.

1706, November [13-]24. Valentia.—My Lord Comte, J'ay eu un gran plaisir d'apprendre par votre letre l'arrivé de la Flotte et de vos troupes de debarquement a Lisbonne. Vous entendres mes pansées par rapport a vos operations par les deux letres que vous receveres avec la presente dont la premiere est la duplicate de ma precedente. Je n'ay rien a ajuter sinon que pour ce qui est du commendement des troupes dont l'Envoyé Stanhope m'a parlé. Vous pouves conter de ne recevoir d'autres ordres, que de moy seul. Je me rapporte au surplus a ce que my lord Galloway vous ecrira sur ce sujet estant bien assuré que vous trouveres en sa personne toute la satisfaction immaginable, et je suis tousjours vous tres affectionée esperant de vous bien tost embrasser. Charles.

Prince de Lichtenstein to Lord Rivers.

1706, November [13-]24. Valencia.—Je connois assés vos grands merites pour desirer avec passion de connoitre de meme vôtre personne.

Les difficultés qu'il y a à craindre, que vous rencontrerés dans l'expedition des villes de Seville, et de Cadix, jointes au peu de fond qu'on scauroit faire sur l'affection des habitans de l'Andalousie me font juger, que vous quitterés sans balancer cette entreprise, pour embrasser avec plaisir l'occasion de servir sa maj.é Cath: dans ses presentes necessités. Comme sa maj.é la Regne votre maitresse dans le tems qu'elle vous ordonna de vous rendre avec la flotte sur les côtes de l'Andalousie ne fut apparement informée de l'etat de nos affaires d'ici, je me flatte, que vous entrerés dans le même avis avec tous les ministres et generaux ici presens, qui ont jugé avec sa majesté que les forces de la flotte ne pourroient étre employé dans la presente conjoncture plus utilement, qu'en les faisant venir en ce Royaume; c'est en cette pensée que j'attens bien tôt l'honneur de vous embrasser, et de vous temoigner l'estime et l'attachement sincer, avec les quels je suis.

Charles III. of Spain to Lord Rivers.

1706, November 24. Valencia.—J'ai été ravi d' entendre que la Flotte avec les trouppes de debarquement qui se trouvent sous vos ordres soit entré dans la riviere de Lisbonne. J'espere que les contretems que vous avés rencontré en mer n'empêcheront point pourque vous ne vous remettés bientôt en état de pouvoir executer vos desseins en conformité des ordres de la Regne vôtre maitresse. Dés que j'apris la resolution de Sa Majesté Brittanique et le changement qu'elle avoit genereusement fait, en vous donnant les ordres d' aller sur les côtes de l'Andalousie au lieu de celles de France, j'ay depeché un navire expres pour vous aprendre mes intentions par rapport aux operations de la flotte, et de vos trouppes de debarquement, mais comme je ne sçai point, si cette lettre ait eu le bon sort de parvenir jusques à vos mains, je vous en ai voulu mander la Duplicata ci-jointe, à la quelle je ne scaurois ajouter auter chose, si non que mes affaires s'empirant ici de jour en jour et ne nous trouvant nullement en état de nous opposer aux insultes des ennemis tousjours superieures sur nous, tant en Infanterie qu'en Cavallerie, vous procuriés par tous vos soings de venir auplustôt avec la flotte et les trouppes de debarquement dans la Mediterranée, pour nous mettre par ce renfort en état de pouvoir arrêter les progres des ennemis, et de recommencer nos operations pour le plus grande bien de la cause commune. Les ministres et les Generaux ici presens de la Regne vôtre maitresse, du Roy de Portugal, et de M.rs les états generaux sont convenu avec moy, que comme les ennemis se sont rendu maitres de la ville de Cartagene, la flotte ne pourroit entrer dans un meilleur Port, que celui d'Alicante, faisant continuer la route aux freggattes, et aux navires de transport, pour prendre celui de Denia, pour y mettre à terre les trouppes de debarquement, pour la subsistance des quelles je vas prevenir les ordres, à fin qu'a leur arrivée les vivres et les provisions pour la nourriture des hommes, et de la Cavallerie de même que toutes les choses necessaires pour le

train du bagage soyent à la main pour entrer aussi-tôt dans les operations qu'on jugera le plus convenables, et d'autant qu'on a remarqué, qu'il y a dans ce royaume et la principauté de Catalogne une grande disette des grains consumés par les ennemis et à l'occasion de la presence de nôtre armée, vous me fairés un agreable service en prenant soing de porter avec la flotte telle grande quantité de bled et d'avoine, que vous puissiés ramasser à Lisbonne, Gibraltar, Tanger, Alger, ou en d'autres ports de la Barbarie, d'autant que cette provision viendra tousjours très à propos pour la subsistance de l'armée quóy que je ne laisserai point de faire faire en attendant toutes les preventions imaginables, pourqu' à vos trouppes manque de rien à leur arrivée. Je me flatte que la presente aura la sort de vous rencontrer encore dans la riviere de Lisbonne, mais en tout cas qu'elle paroint en vos mains dans un tems, que vous fussiés avec les trouppes actuellement engagé aux expeditions de Seville on de Cadix, dont le succes à ce que l'on juge ici sera exposé à mille difficultés particulierement en cette saison, j'espere que vous laisserés pas pour cela de contribuer de vos bons offices à ce que l'Admiral Schovel envoye à mon assistance une escadre de vaisseaux, pour la seureté de ces côtes, et pour pouvoir entretenir la communication avec les Isles de Majorque, et d'Ivice, et pour pouvoir tacher, s'il est possible de se rendre maitre du Port de Maon, l'Isle de Minorque s'etant de même volontairement soumis à mon obeissance, et mes bons sujets de cette Isle ne desirant que quelques vaisseaux pour serrer du coté de la mer cette place qu'ils tiennent actuellement bloqué par terre. Je me rapporte au surplus à la duplicata de ma lettre precedente, en vous assurant de nouveau de mon estime et de ma parfaite reconnoissance.

General J. Stanhope to Earl Rivers.

1706, November [13-]24. Valentia.—I am honoured with your Lordship's letter of the 30th of October o.s., and am very sorry the despatches sent to your Lordship near a month ago from hence could not for want of shipping get to you. The very next day that we received news from England that your Lordship was intended to act on the coast of Spain, I sent my brother with letters from the King and my Lord Galway to go to your Lordship, but a man-of-war the *Ipswich*, which promised to call at Altea to take in our letters, did not touch there, so my brother was detained three weeks at Denia and Alicant, and embarked at last on a merchant ship. I hope he will have had the good fortune to kiss your Lordship's hands before this reaches you, but lest any accident should have prevented him you will by Col. Worseley receive duplicates of what was then writ.

Our circumstances are not mended but on the contrary since that time, having lost Cathagena, but the King and my Lord Galway write so fully to your Lordship that I have little to add on that subject.

I am very much obliged to your Lordship for the confidence you are pleased to express in me, which I shall always endeavour to make use of to the utmost of my power for the service of your Lordship and the public. I believe the King and my Lord Galway will have explained themselves to your Lordship's satisfaction on the matter your Lordship was pleased to touch to me and am fully persuaded that your Lordship will be made as easy in that matter as you can wish and desire. The Portuguese General does by virtue of our treaty claim and is in possession of the command of those troops that are on the establishment of Portugal; over those which were of my Lord Peterborough's establishment, he can pretend nothing, much less of any distinct body sent hither by the Queen to our assistance over and above what her Majesty is by any treaty obliged to furnish. The King is too much concerned in interest to have this body join him not to comply with whatever your Lordship shall insist on, and I do verily believe that your Lordship will find in my Lord Galway all manner of easiness.

The great difficulty we shall have to struggle with will be provisions, though that will be made much easier than it now is when we have ships in these seas. I am promised by the King and his ministers that all possible diligence shall be used in making magazines, but I fear the country has not wherewithal. From Majorca we may have considerable supplies so soon as any shipping comes. If from Lisbon or Barbary your Lordship and Sir Cloudesley Shovell can get any quantities of corn, and barley especially, it will be the greatest service can be done us.

Copy.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

[1706, November] 15, Friday night.—I return your two Scots letters; I reckon others are come in to-day, though I have not had any, but I conclude they will not proceed upon the Union till they have perfected their Act for security of their Church. Their majority having fallen at one time from 70 to 32 has made them very apprehensive, and, I doubt, with reason.

I shall not write to the Duke of Marlborough to-night because I hope he will be here to-morrow or next day. If he can conquer animosity as well as armies his presence will be very useful in this island of Britain.

I hear Crawford is dead, so there's a government [of Sheerness] for one of his officers. The governor of Virginia [Nott] is also dead; I make no doubt but my Lord Orkney will seize upon that, and I don't see why one might not persuade him to go down to Scotland and vote for the Union, without which he can't be capable of it.

What with their lingering there and the expectation of it here, I doubt we must take the pretext of the floods for putting off the Parliaments.

Lord Godolphin to [Earl Rivers].

1706, November 19.—I have the honour of your Lordship's of the 30th October from Lisbon.

You will see by the instructions you will receive from Mr. Secretary Hedges by this packet that in case you are not gone from Lisbon before it arrives the Queen has changed at present her thoughts of your going to Seville and Cadiz.

This change has been occasioned partly by the delays and other misfortunes of the bad weather you have met with, but chiefly from knowing my Lord Galway's opinion by Monsieur de Montandre, now here but designed to be sent to Lisbon again within four days, that your forces could not be so useful to the King of Spain's service by joining him at Valentia as they might be by joining with the troops of the King of Portugal, and taking post now immediately upon the frontiers of Castille, that so the army may be in readiness to march to Toledo as soon as the season of the year will admit. This, M. de Montandre tells us, was my Lord Galway's opinion, and to this the Duke of Marlborough, now arrived, agrees; and the rather because we find, both by the Envoy of Portugal here and by what M. de Montandre relates of the temper in which he left the Court of Portugal, that they are now as desirous and forward to march to Madrid as they were backward last summer, because by experience they find it is not a difficult matter, and because they have no other way of disengaging their army now in Spain; and the Queen's consideration in leaving her troops under your command to act in conjunction with them will probably be so agreeable to the King of Portugal that he will give you no uneasiness in the point of command, but direct his general, who shall have the name of the chief command, to be wholly guided by you in the executive part; and we are also promised there shall be the same disposition to make you easy in furnishing all manner of necessaries for the marching and subsisting of your troops.

M. de Montandre will be dispatched in a few days to Lisbon, to see all accomplished that has been promised by the King of Portugal, and from thence he is to give the King of Spain and my Lord Galway an account in what state he has left all in Lisbon, that so they may take their measures according for entering into Castille on that side at the same time you shall begin to march from the frontiers of Portugal.

Postscript.—I desire to make my compliments to my Lord Essex, and to tell him that he is declared Constable of the Tower.

Sir Charles Hedges to Earl Rivers.

1706, November 19. Whitehall.—I herewith send your Excellency her Majesty's instruction for continuing at Lisbon in case this meets you there, and you will by express, which perhaps may reach you as soon as this, receive her Majesty's further instructions for the operations of the next campaign by entering Spain on the Portugal side, the framing of which is now under consideration; but since it is of use that your Excellency should be informed of her Majesty's intentions as soon as possible I here send you the first draught of what is designed for your instruc-

tions, that you may be the better prepared by being apprised of the measures that are taking, which I desire you will communicate to Sir Cloudesley Shovell. You will see by this draught that your letters of the 29th and 31st past are come to hand, and I hope this alteration will be agreeable to your Excellency.

Monsieur Montandre will bring you the instructions as soon as they are finished, and will more fully explain this matter to you with the inducement that inclined her Majesty to countermand her former orders.

If Mr. Methuen be at Lisbon it will be necessary to communicate all to him, who as her Majesty's minister will give your Excellency assistance in all that may be needful, being well acquainted with that Court and the temper of the people there. I enclose a letter from Lord Treasurer.

Sir Charles Hedges to Earl Rivers.

1706, November 26. Whitehall.—I have received the favour of your Excellency's of the 29th and 31st past with the Council of War, which having been laid before the Queen, her Majesty has thought fit to send you the inclosed instructions, a duplicate of which for more certainty will also go by the packet boat. Her Majesty has therein so fully recited the motives that induced her to give these orders that I have little occasion to trouble your Excellency with any further explanations. It is hoped they will reach you before you leave Lisbon; but whether you are still there or that these come to hand when you are advanced further towards Cadiz according to your former instructions, I am to acquaint your Excellency that you are to look upon the latitude you had then for joining the Earl of Galway as being at an end, upon the representations and proposals made by the Envoy of Portugal and Monsieur Montandre. And in case it shall not be found advisable to proceed upon those former instructions, now the season of the year is so far advanced, the men-of-war shattered and the troops fatigued with the voyage, and that the difficulties in this enterprise appear to be such as may make your success doubtful and harass your men so as not to be in a good condition to begin the campaign early, you are then to continue at Lisbon, or to return thither if you should be gone from thence.

As to the sending your Excellency particular instructions for giving out clothes or arms to the Spanish troops, or any other services that you judge tend to the advancing the interest of the common cause, her Majesty does not think it proper to give any particular directions, and leaves those matters and all minute particulars to your Excellency's discretion and prudence, not doubting but you will in all things order what shall conduce most to her service and the carrying on the main design for establishing King Charles on the throne.

Your Excellency will receive with your instructions a copy of a memorial presented to the Queen by the envoy of Portugal with the answer which was given to it by her Majesty's command,

She takes it for granted that all that is therein proposed will be effectually complied with, so that I hope your Excellency will have no difficulty with the King of Portugal in settling any of those articles, especially since he himself has proposed the same to the Marquis de Montandre; but whatever else occurs to your Excellency for facilitating the proposed design and for putting it in execution early in the year is recommended particularly to your care to be put into a good method and forwardness, so that nothing may be wanting when you come to take the field, and you are, as far as is possible, to get all necessaries provided by the King of Portugal on the most advantageous terms you can with regard to her Majesty's interest and the advancement of the service. At the same time, while all things are preparing for an early campaign on the side of Portugal, there should be no manner of neglect in dispatching the Portuguese recruits and all necessaries for the Portugal troops at Valentia, it being the reinforcements the Earl of Galway entirely depends on, and the principal inducement to his proposing that her Majesty's troops that were designed for the former expedition should act in Portugal, in conjunction with the ten thousand foot and between two and three thousand horse that the King proposes to join to them, and march to Madrid by the way of Toledo, as the most effectual means in his Lordship's opinion for putting him in a condition to co-operate on the other side and regain the capital, which it is believed will most facilitate the reducing of the whole kingdom.

The King of Portugal having writ to the Queen upon this subject, her Majesty has thought fit to return an answer, which you have herewith, wherein she gives your Excellency a credential for negociating and adjusting everything with his Portuguese Majesty for the carrying on of this service. This letter you will please to deliver to the King, giving him assurances at the same time of her Majesty's steady and firm resolution to carry on the war with the utmost vigour in conjunction with his Majesty, and that you are ready to agree to settle all that remains requisite to be adjusted on the foot that his envoy here and the Marquis de Montandre have proposed; I also enclose an extract of the King's letter and and a copy of her Majesty's answer for your information.

I have no orders to trouble your Excellency with anything relating to money or what may be wanting for the army, but must crave leave to refer you to my Lord Treasurer for the former and to the Secretary at War for the latter. Whatever your Excellency proposes on those heads I constantly, according to my duty, lay it before the Queen; but those are the proper channels for putting in execution all orders his Majesty thinks fit to give of that kind.

If Mr. Methuen be arrived your Excellency will please to communicate your orders to him, who, as her Majesty's envoy, you may be sure will readily assist in everything you think needful, and I have written to him upon this subject.

I send your Excellency a copy of Monsieur Montandre's proposals and the answers that have been given to them, and care

will be taken that they be complied with by the proper offices; and as to the disposal of arms you will hear from the Board of Ordnance upon that head.

Postscript.—Your Excellency will receive this by Monsieur Montandre, who will be able to explain to you more fully what I now write and the measures that are intended to be pursued.

Signed.

Earl Rivers to Sir Charles Hedges.

1706, November. Lisbon.—In my last I gave you an account that pursuant to her Majesty's orders and instructions it was resolved by a Council of War to continue our voyage, in order to which that I had landed our horses that the ships and stalls might be refitted, and that I was doing my utmost endeavours to supply ourselves with the necessary horse meat for our expedition; but besides the many difficulties which are natural to this country the continual bad weather has been a great hindrance to us.

I am more than ever surprised that I have heard nothing from the King of Spain or my Lord Galway. On my part I have left nothing undone that can conduce to the ends that I have been sent about. I have dispatched an officer away to Valentia to give them an account of my arrival here and of her Majesty's orders and instructions to me, and at my request the Spanish envoy has sent a proper person into the country where we are going to bring us account of matters thence, and we may probably expect his return before we go hence. The said Spanish envoy has assured me that there is a very good disposition among the great men there to second us.

The Portuguese have given out that Alcantara was besieged, and the King sent to me to know whether I would not land any of my troops. I answered him that my orders were to join the King of Spain, and that without disobeying the Queen I could not do it; but this I believe was an invention of their own to try my pulse.

I had a general order from my Lord Treasurer whilst we were at Torbay to supply the Dutch with money to buy their own forage, victualling, &c. Upon our arrival here Brigadier Lisle Mare addressed himself to me that I would continue doing the same, for that Monsieur Schonenberg, the Dutch minister here, would do nothing in it, having no orders from his masters for so doing, which I do not wonder at, the secret of this expedition being kept from them, and our coming here altogether accidental. So that upon the whole matter I find myself necessitated to help them. He has brought me an estimate of about 7,000*l.*, part of which I have already advanced and the rest I shall pay in a few days, and by the next post I shall send you his receipt for the same. I resisted his importunity all I could, but he having told me that without this money he could not proceed with me I was forced at last to comply.

It being long since Mr. Secretary Harley promised to let me known her Majesty's pleasure what should be done with the

clothing which I have with me, designed for the French regiments, I am surprised to hear nothing from him. They were very inconveniently loaded on board several men-of-war, which being subject to be commanded away we may be disappointed of them, and therefore I shall order them to be landed here, the Admiral so desiring it, until I have power to dispose of them otherways.

We are hard at work in refitting our ships and in providing of forage, but the continual rains are a great hindrance to us, and serve the Portuguese likewise for an excuse of their no better compliance. However, I am in better hopes than I was in the writing of my last that they will perform what they have promised.

Copy.

Don Diego Mendoça to Lord Rivers.

1706 [November 30-]December 11. [Lisbon.] Au Palais.—Je presentai a sa Magesté le Roy mon maistre vôtre lettre de le 11e du current, et sa Magesté m'ordonâ de vous remercier de sa part de vos souhaits pour la prosperitè de son regne ; come aussi du chagrin ; que vous têmoignes, vous á causè la mort du feu Roy son Pere.

Sa ditte Magesté m'ordonâ aussi de vous asseurer, qu'elle continuerá à observer l'allianse faitte par le feu Roy son Pere avec la Reyne vôtre Maitresse, et les autres Princes Alliés, faisant observer de son côté, tout ce qu' â été estipulé dans le Traité, continuant la guerre avec le même vigeur, que jusqu' a present ; parceque elle est dans les mêmes intentions, que etoit le Roy son Pere ; et sa Magesté á chargé son Envoyé â Londres de communiquer celà a la Reyne vôtre Maitresse.

The Same to the Same.

1706, December [1-]12. [Lisbon.] Au Palais.—Avant hier j'avois ajusté avec Mr. Richard chez Mr. Methuyn qu'on devoit envoyer avec Torres un ministre de sa Majesté, pour faire transporter ici toute la paille qu'il faudroit pour vos chevaux, et que meme votre Excellencie envoyera un Anglois qui parleroit portugais pour aller avec eux, croyant que cela seroit plus convenable pour avoir de la paille, car si on arrete cet homme la, nous aurons de la pene a l'avoir citot :

Le Ministre et Torres, n'attendant que le comissaire Anglois pour partir faites moy la grace de mander si vous souhaitez, qu'on aille on bien que le dit Torres soit arreté j'attens votre reponse.

Earl Rivers to Sir Charles Hedges.

1706, December 3-14. Lisbon.—I have before me yours of the 1st, 15th, 17th, 28th, 29th of October and 1st of November, to all which I will make answer in the amplest manner I can, though as yet I have not heard one word from either the King of Spain

or my Lord Galway, whose advices are so necessary for my conduct I have writ them by five several occasions, and I presume that they have been writ [to] from home by the way of Italy. As to Mr. Crow I have not as yet seen him.

In all my former letters I have acquainted you that it was still my opinion, as likewise that of the Council of War (a copy of which was sent you), to pursue her Majesty's first orders and instructions, and in the same opinion I still remain, but under the restrictions mentioned in yours, and particularly that of the 29th of October, pursuant to which we shall determine what is most advantageous to her Majesty's service, and the end to which I was sent, which is the reduction of Spain.

I am sorry to tell you that the Duke of Anjou, suspecting the fidelity of his officers and governors in Andalusia, has about a month ago turned them all out and sent others in their room. He did it not without reason, for we had several good assurances that divers of them were our friends, but as yet we do not hear that they have detached any troops that way.

As to the conjunction of these troops under my command with those of my Lord Galway, I shall punctually comply with the same pursuant to her Majesty's instructions, the circumstances of our affairs, and the judgment of the Council of War; but as to my serving in person I hope her Majesty will have the goodness to excuse me, it being well known that I came not abroad but in view of the honour of commanding alone, and yet when her service required me to go to Spain I readily condescended, not doubting but that at least the command of these troops would have remained with me, whoever I had joined; but seeing her Majesty's pleasure is now otherwise, I will carry these troops up to Valentia (in case it shall be judged necessary so to do), and so return for England, having resolved to serve under nobody but his Royal Highness or the Duke of Marlborough.

I observe her Majesty's order to suspend for some time her former instructions about proposing to the King of Portugal that we should pay his troops in Valentia.

The secret of our expedition is as entire as when we arrived here, neither shall I reveal it until the last, when I will make all the efforts possible upon the King to co-operate with us, which I wish he may be induced to; but as to his giving us any horses to be repaid again in specie by horses to be sent from England, I fear that he will scarcely condescend to, however it shall be proposed.

That the enemy infinitely exceeds us in horse if we do not make some extraordinary effort is certain, and consequently will prove an invincible difficulty to a long march, such as we must make if we will go for Madrid. Among all the projects that have been proposed to me to reinforce ours, there is none that in all respects does answer the design as to have a good body of veteran horse from Italy, provided they can be spared, for our transports so soon as we are secured ashore may go fetch them; but of this her Majesty is the best judge whether it be feasible or no.

The King of Portugal has established two boats at Faro to run between that place and Gibraltar. Sir Cloudesley Shovell has ordered two frigates to attend them, to take up the letters and carry them to Alicant, so that provided the winds be favourable we shall have letters every fifteen days, but inasmuch as the westerly winds do reign here for months together (as at present) I believe it will be judged proper that a couple of feluccas be employed to run between Barcelona and Genoa so soon as the season of the year will permit them.

Whereas in yours of the first of October, it appears that the article in my manifesto relating to the protection of the loyal Spaniards, navigation was thought too particular and that without communicating this matter with the States General it was not to be done. I was in hopes to have been further directed therein, for want of which I have by advice of Sir Cloudesley Shovell inserted this clause, we having judged it necessary to say something to this purpose, which I hope will meet with her Majesty's approbation:—

"And furthermore we declare that all his Catholic Majesty's subjects who shall render their obedience to their lawful King shall be protected in their navigation, to which end the Queen, my mistress, at the request of King Charles, has sent already a powerful squadron to the Spanish West Indies to protect and secure the states and effects of those Spaniards who by their loyalty shall merit this grace and favour, and to convoy and bring back their said Spanish ships to Cadiz or Seville provided the said places are in the obedience of his Catholic Majesty, King Charles."

I have often writ to have orders how to dispose of the clothing which I have with me, and which was designed for the French. I do presume that it may be her Majesty's intentions to bestow it upon such of the Spaniards as shall come in to us, but about this I desire to have her Majesty's further instructions.

The King of Portugal is dead, and his son will be proclaimed to-morrow. What influence this will have on our affairs and whatever else relates to this Court I entirely remit you to Mr. Methuen; however, I think it proper to send you a copy of letter writ me by the Secretary of State.

Copy.

The Duke of Marlborough to [Earl Rivers].

1706, December 4. "St. Jeamses."—Finding upon my arrival from Holland, the Marquis de Montandre ready to return to Portugal with the Queen's letters to the King, and her Majesty's instructions to your Lordship, 'tis with great satisfaction that I lay hold of this opportunity to congratulate your safe arrival on that side after so troublesome and hazardous a voyage. I shall not entertain you with the measures we are taking for carrying on the war in the Low Countries, having fully instructed the Marquis on that subject for your information.

The Earl of Sunderland to Earl Rivers.

1706, December 4. London.—The Queen was pleased yesterday to give me the seals in the room of Sir Charles Hedges, and to allot me the Southern Province, which is particularly agreeable to me, as what will give me frequent opportunities of corresponding with your Lordship. I am very sensible of the difficulties of such an employment, but as our friends would have me undertake it, so I shall always endeavour by their support and assistance to be as useful as I can be to the honest interest. I wish your Lordship all good success.

Lord Somers to Earl Rivers.

1706, December 4. London.—I have the honour of your Lordship's of the eighth of November, and I assure you it was very welcome to me, for after the account we had of your dangerous voyage, it was no little pleasure to me to be assured from your own hand that you were safe and well. I have found an opportunity of discoursing particularly, upon the subject of the necessity of your Lordship being well supplied, with my Lord Treasurer. He gave me a fair occasion, and I laid hold of it, with respect to the general service, as well as of my friendship to your Lordship, which obliged me to desire that everything should prosper in your hands. Nobody could speak more kindly and promise more fully. He said his whole heart was on the business you were employed in, and that nothing should be wanting. I hope what he does will be suitable and I can ask no more.

My Lord Galway has proposed your acting with the Portuguese, as the most effectual way to advance the interest of King Charles. I have understood that a great deal is still left to your judgment. I believe you will find the Marquis de Montandre to have good sense and to be capable of acquainting your Lordship of the humour of the Portuguese and of the inclination and qualification of their persons. Be pleased to allow me to suggest that they will promise anything to oblige you to stay with them, for the troops they have in Spain give them a real concern; but on the other side I hope that your Lordship will take all precautions possible that they may observe what they promise to you.

I hope you have heard long since of the answer about Guernsey, that the General Ch[urchill] had an old promise of it. After this nothing could be said I find.

At length Lord Sunderland is Secretary in place of Sir Ch. Hedges, and for the same province, for which I congratulate your Lordship.

I can wish nothing more than I do your success. I will mind nothing more than your affairs.

Earl Rivers to Sir Charles Hedges.

1706, December 6-17. Lisbon.—I have already writ you under the 3-14 current, but it was afterwards judged necessary to detain

the packet boat until Col. Worsley arrived with the King of Spain's letter, &c., which he did two days ago, the import of which is to this purpose. That the enemy is so superior to them in both horse and foot that in case we be not already engaged in the enterprise of Cadiz, the King as well as the General Officers do earnestly desire that we may come to his succour, which in a Council of War, of which you have here a copy, we resolved to do with all possible expedition, and we now stay for nothing else but a little straw which I wish we may get in so far as ten or twelve days.

Furthermore, the King of Spain and Mr. Stanhope do earnestly desire that we should bring with us all the bread and corn we can, and particularly barley, of all which there is there great scarcity, for which reason I have ordered the buying up one hundred days bread and corn for the troops under my command and I shall leave nothing unattempted to procure the same from Algiers, Tunis, Majorca, &c., for as to the rest of Barbary I fear they will not supply us with any, and yet these my endeavours are not so entirely to be depended upon but that I judge it would be necessary to send some ships from England laden with wheat and barley and biscuit to Alicant; it is keeping so much money in the nation and may if not wanted be sold to profit.

I am informed that our troops there are very weak, to recruit which as well as my own, I conceive there are but three ways, one of which her Majesty in her great prudence will be pleased to make use of. The first is to send entire regiments with a very few officers, which so soon as they have landed their men in Spain will return back again to the rest of their officers in England, who in the meantime will be raising of their regiments again.

The second is by breaking of the weakest regiments into the strongest and sending the officers back again to raise them anew. And if there was some such general rule, that when a regiment should be reduced to such a number (without having been in service) it should be broken into another, it might oblige the officers to be more careful of their men.

The third way is by drafts, which occasions great confusion in their accounts.

We received some letters from Valentia, which we might have had near a month sooner had there been a frigate to have brought them away, or indeed had not the Captain of the man-of-war disappointed him, of which his Catholic Majesty and my Lord Galway do complain, and indeed this is a matter of such consequence that he does earnestly desire that three or four small frigates may have orders to attend that coast and to obey such orders as they shall receive from the King of Spain, or in his absence the General commanding her Majesty's forces, and indeed that all other frigates despatched with letters may be obliged upon the King's request to stay for his answer. I do not say this to offend Sir C. Shovell, who is very forward and zealous in whatever relates to the public service, that this precaution would not be necessary if we were always sure of having him here.

We are so very weak in horses, and the enemy is so very superior to us that there is nothing that I will leave unattempted to reinforce them, pursuant to her Majesty's instructions. I am told that there are some in Valentia, which I will immediately buy up, and draw the money upon Mr. Morice, but lest these my endeavours should prove futile I hope that her Majesty will be pleased to reflect upon my former proposal of procuring a body of good serviceable horse to be sent from Italy upon our transports.

The King of Spain having lost this campaign a great part of his infantry, my Lord Galway has writ to Mr. Morice (not supposing me to be here) to pay another Spanish regiment to be raised out of the garrison of Alcantara, pursuant to which I have given the necessary orders, the plan of which regiment and its expense shall be sent you next packet, and I doubt not but that my Lord Treasurer will make account thereof in order to be regularly subsisted.

I, having by this occasion received all the satisfaction I could expect both from the King of Spain and my Lord Galway in relation to the command of those troops which are now under my orders, have resolved to go with them to Valentia and to continue there until her Majesty shall give her further direction therein, the said Earl of Galway having in divers of his letters assured me that he was desirous of going home on account of his health, and that immediately upon my arrival he would remit the command even of his own to me.

Copy.

Earl Rivers to the Lord Treasurer.

1706, December 6-17. Lisbon.—I will not trouble your Lordship with the repetition of what I have writ Mr. Secretary, to whom you will please to be referred. Your Lordship will be informed that pursuant to the King of Spain's earnest desire and the unanimous opinion of the Generals there, that without being powerfully succoured they run a hazard of being entirely undone. I have resolved together with a Council of War to make all possible haste to their assistance.

I have here had from Mr. Morice the sum of 60,000*l.* sterling, which I judge will subsist us to the latter end of April, supposing that there be no necessity of any extraordinary expense as the buying up of horses, &c., which I am resolved to do in case they are to be had, and therefore I hope that your Lordship will be very forward in the remitting hither proportionable sums, I say remitting, because that I am informed that this place will not always afford the great sums ordinary and extraordinary which this remote war does require, and therefore if your Lordship should approve of it, I judge it very necessary that a sufficient credit was likewise lodged in Genoa or Leghorn for any emergent occasion.

I have a favour to beg of you which is that in the regiments designed hither that my Lord Barrymore may not be one of

them, and I have so great a confidence in your Lordship's friendship that I entirely remit whatever I shall ask or propose in relation to myself to your better judgement, so that whatever you think is not fitting to be done that you will not so much as mention it, and on the contrary whatever is just and reasonable I shall always meet with your Lordship's concurrence therein, and therefore I beg that your Lordship will be very plain with me and in that manner answer whatever I have and shall propose to you.

I am informed that there comes over to us a good many French deserters, so that my design is to complete Guiscard's regiment so soon as I can, and whereas it is not to be expected that it should be well governed without a Colonel, I beg that her Majesty will either give me the said regiment or permit me to nominate a Colonel.

The next thing in which I desire your Lordship's advice is what I should do in case the King of Spain should propose to me to take any commission from him which my Lord Peterborough did, and I hear that my Lord Galway has lately done from the Emperor. I must confess that I thought it so reasonable the remaining with the command of these troops (whenever the service should require that I should join) that I proposed it both to the King and my Lord Galway, to which they having readily condescended, I have resolved not only to go up with the troops to Valentia, but to stay with them, and my Lord Galway has likewise further assured me in divers letters that he is still desirous of going home upon account of his health and that therefore he will remit the troops under his command to me. I wish I was as able as I am willing to undertake anything for her Majesty's service, but I being conscious of my own insufficiency, I entirely remit myself to her Majesty's pleasure.

I hope that the Spanish regiment which I take with me, as likewise the other to be raised by order of my Lord Galway (as you will see more at large by what I have writ Mr. Secretary), will be comprehended in your Lordship's calculations of this future year's expenses to the end that they may be regularly paid as well as our own troops.

Copy.

[Lord Godolphin to Earl Rivers.]

1706, December 16.—I have had the honour to read to the Queen your Lordship's of the 29th of November. Her Majesty thinks the resolutions you propose to take in case of your forces joining with my Lord Galway very prudent and reasonable, but we are in good hopes the orders from hence to stop you at Lisbon may come in time to keep you there, since the accident of the King of Portugal's death will probably increase the delays you met with before in getting all things ready for your leaving it, besides that the season of the year, through the many accidents which have concurred to detain you so long, is now very little proper for such an expedition as was at first designed.

These considerations, joined with our accounts from Valentia that they want all manner of subsistence for the troops already there, have determined the Queen to agree to the plan brought by M. de Montandre from the Earl of Galway that your Lordship with the troops under your command should, in conjunction, with the forces of the King of Portugal, endeavour to make a diversion on that side as early as the season of the year will admit of your taking the field.

The orders to this purpose went from hence time enough to have reached you before the fleet could have sailed, but they have unluckily been long kept back by contrary winds, which makes us now very uneasy under the uncertainty whether they have come in time to you or not. If you have received them I believe you will find great assistance from M. de Montandre in the execution of them, since he knows all that country very well, is perfectly acquainted with the humour and temper of the Portuguese, and capable of being very serviceable to you.

I shall only add that our Parliament here is so unanimous in carrying on the war next year everywhere with all the vigour imaginable, that whatever they gave out, or brag of, in Spain, it will be impossible for France to spare them any troops, since they will have their hands very full on the side of Dauphiné, on the Rhine, and in Flanders.

The Earl of Sunderland to Earl Rivers.

1706, December 17. Whitehall.—This sudden accident of the King of Portugal's death makes us very uneasy here, and apprehensive of some ill turn in our affairs there, upon this new Government. It is a very fortunate thing for her Majesty's service that your Lordship is there with the troops and fleet at so critical a juncture, and I am sure you will improve it to the best advantage. I send by this packet, credentials and commission of ambassador to Mr. Methuen, notwithstanding which her Majesty thought it would be taken as a mark of her great regard to the new King to have the first compliments made to him by one of your Lordship's figure and quality, and therefore has writ a *lettre de cachette* with her own hand to him which I send you here enclosed. Your Lordship will at the same time make the compliments of condolence and congratulation with the assurances of the Queen's desire of continuing in the strictest amity and friendship with him, and in order to it she has sent instructions to Mr. Methuen, her residing ambassador there, to renew the treaties now in force, which he will acquaint you with.

I hope by this time you have received the last orders that were sent about joining the troops with the Portuguese. This accident of the King of Portugal's death makes that yet more necessary.

The Same to the Same.

1706, December 20. Whitehall.—Having received your Lordship's letters from Lisbon of the 3-14 December and of the 6-17, by which the condition of our affairs in Valentia seems to require

your going forthwith thither with the troops under your command; I am to acquaint your Lordship that it is her Majesty's pleasure that you do go thither with the troops as soon as possible, notwithstanding any orders you may receive to the contrary, those having been sent before it was known how much the King of Spain and my Lord Galway did want your assistance. By the next packet your Lordship will receive full answers to and directions upon your last letters.

PRINCE DE LICHTENSTEIN to LORD RIVERS.

1706, December [20-]31. Valencia.—Je me flatte que ces lignes auront le bon sort de vous etre rendu en chemin vers la Mediterranée, suivant les derniers avis de Lisbonne, par les quels nous aprimes, que vous seriés en peu de jours pret pour mettre à la voile avec la flotte, et les troupes de debarquement. Comme sa Majesté par la ci-jointe vous renouvelle ses instances pour venir au plus-tôt à son secours, et de ces pais menacés de toutes parts d'un nouvelle invasion d'autant plus grande, et dangereuse, que nous n'avons point des forces à la main pour les opposer aux leurs, qui restent tousjours dans la superiorité, et s'agrandissent de plus en plus pars les grands renfors, qui leur viennent de la France, j'espere que votre zele et votre grande application pour l'avancement des interêts de sa Majesté et pour la seureté de sa Royale personne ne balanceront aucunement pour venir incessamment à nôtre secours. C'est dans cette esperance que je me promets d'avoir bien-tôt l'honneur de vous embrasser, et de vous temoigner l'attachement et la passion sincere, avec les quels je suis, &c.

KING CHARLES OF SPAIN to LORD RIVERS.

1706, December [20-]31. Valencia.—Quoy que je suis assuré de vôtre Zele, qu' aprés avoir reçeu mes lettres precedentes du 29 Octobre et 24 Novembre vous aurés fait toutes les dispositions et diligences possibles pour venir à mon secours avec la Flotte, et les troupes de debarquement, qui se trouvent sous vos ordres, je ne scaurois neanmoins laisser de nouveller avec cette occasion les instances que je vous fis de venir au plus tôt dans la Mediterranée avec toutes les forces, et des provisions que vous aurés pû ramasser, a fin qu'à leur arrivée on soit d'autant plus en état d'entreprendre les operations qu'on jugera les plus convenables. Comme les ennemis tiennent tousjours la superiorité des armes dans ces pays, et qu'ils vont former un corps considerable dans le Roussillon pour assaillir derechef ma principauté de Catalogne, et que d'ailleurs par les avis que j'ay, je ne scaurois me promettre aucun secours du coté de l'Italie, vous jugerés assés de la pressante necessité de venir avec toute la promptitude imaginable à mon assistance y ayant tout lieu de craindre, que faute de votre puissant secours, et les ennemis faissant tous les effors possibles pour attaquer ces terres de deux cotés, et pour me prendre au milien, ma personne, et par consequent toute l'expedition d'Espagne pourroit étre reduite dans la même extremité ou elle

se trouva d'hyver passé. Votre claire voyance est trop grande pour ne point s'appercevoir que ce seroit la derniere des toutes les disgraces, qui pourroit arriver á la cause commune dans la belle situation des affaires, ou nous sommes par tout ailleur hormis en Espagne. Ou me vient de faire un portrait si vif de vos grandes qualites, et de vôtre application pour le bien de mon service et de la cause commune, que je me repose entierement sur votre zele, que vous ne tarderé point un moment, pour m'ammener votre secours, comme étant le seul, qui pourra mettre ma personne, et toutes cès terres á couvert des insultes, dont elles sont menacées. C'est le plus grand, et le plus agreable service, que vous scauriés jamais rendre en cette conjoncture à un Prince plein de reconnaissance, et d'estime pour votre personne.

King Charles of Spain to Lord Rivers.

[1706, December 23-]1707, January 2. Valencia.—Ayant apris quoy qu'avec incertitude que la Flotte avoit paru sur la hauter d'Alicante, Je vous envoye mon ajudant-Royal Paul Lipperz de Rosendal pour vous recevoir et vous feliciter sur vôtre heureuse arrivée. Comme je fais tous mes effors autant que la constitution de ces pais le permet, pour qu'à l' arrivée des troupes de debarquement, qui se trouvent sous vos ordres elles entrassent d'abord aux operations les plus necessaires pour l'ouverture de la Compagne. Je vous mande ci joint le projet, dont je suis convenu avec les generaux ici presens, et dont Mylord Gallway vous ecrira plus largement, sur lequel je m'en rapporte, esperant, que votre grand zele, application et experience ne tarderont guerres à le mettre promptement en execution, et que vous me marquerés en quoy je vous puisse assister d'ici, pour seconder les glorieuses expeditions, que vous allés entreprendre pour mon service, et celui de la cause commune. Sur quoy je prie Dieu qu'il vous aye Mylord dans sa sainte garde, et en attendant le plaisir de vous voir, et de vous embrasser bientôt, je vous assure de ma parfaite estime, et bienveuillance.

Lord Somers to Earl Rivers.

1706, December 23. London.—Though I had not the honour of receiving a letter from you by the packet boat which brought an account of your being upon the point of embarking for Spain (which is a resolution very different from that which Mons. Montandre reported to be the opinion of my Lord Galway at the time when he was here before), yet I cannot forbear to send this second letter by him, to wish you all possible prosperity in your intended voyage. I pray God you may meet with all things in a tolerable condition, and may be able to set yourself well with our King of Spain, which, as far as I find, may not prove a very easy matter.

My Lord Galway has a temper and practice in business very likely to have won upon this young King, but it is said he has

not succeeded. Your Lordship will soon find how the fact is, and from what grounds any uneasiness or coldness has proceeded, and if it can be set right by any other management. You will also find that before any thoughts of your going to Valentia the Queen had wrote to the King of Spain pressing him in the most earnest manner to hearken to my Lord Galway and to be advised by him, and the Queen and ministers in their letters to my Lord Galway have been pressing with him to continue in his command.

I have been confined by a rheumatic pain for this week to my chamber, and therefore am not so well able to give you an account of what they write now, but it is certainly to the same effect. The best service I can do your Lordship is to acquaint you sincerely of the sentiments of your friends and of those who mean well, upon such an occasion as this which was not foreseen or thought of when we parted. They think it would be wrong for your Lordship in such a juncture to refuse to serve, if my Lord G. should resolve to continue to command; they think it would be to sacrifice Europe to a punctilio, and what would have a very wrong interpretation in England, where it is believed nobody but my Lord G. has the art of dealing with the Portuguese: and give me leave to say, it would be a very melancholy thought to me, to have the Earl R[ivers] and the Earl of P[eterborough] abandoning the service upon the same ground.

Perhaps I have said too much upon this subject but it is out of the sincerity of my heart, and therefore you will interpret it rightly. I will ask your leave to add a few words more. If this be the case I hope your Lordship will go along with my Lord Galway, who has expressed great respect for you in his letters, and who is certainly a very easy man to be lived with. But if he will persist in declining to serve longer, which by all his letters is most probable, I am promised that everything shall be done to form a good opinion of Lord Rivers with the King of Spain and to increase and improve his credit and weight with him. Our new Secretary assures me he has orders to write this to you, and my Lord Treasurer said to me he would not fail to write fully this night to this effect. My dear Lord, do not take ill anything I may write out of want of knowledge of military affairs, but let me deal plainly with you; I have long desired to see you in a circumstance wherein you might shew what you could and would do for your own honour and that of your country. I am sure no man alive is better qualified. I am not sure that things in Spain are in a very hopeful posture, but for God's sake if it be any way practicable make the best of it, and do not let men have a pretence to say you threw away the opportunity out of a humour.

The Earl of Sunderland to Earl Rivers.

1706, December 23. Whitehall.—I have received your Lordship's letters to Sir Charles Hedges of the 3-14 and 6-17 of December, and must acquaint you that her Majesty does entirely approve

of the resolution you have taken of going as soon as possible with the troops under your command to Valentia, where the King of Spain and Lord Galway seem to be so much in want of them, and it is her pleasure that you should go on forthwith, notwithstanding any orders you may receive to the contrary (such orders having been sent some time since, upon former advices from Portugal). As for Lord Galway's staying there, it is her Majesty's opinion that, if he can be persuaded to it, it is absolutely necessary for the service he should, considering the influence he has upon the Portuguese, and that nobody has been able to manage them but him. My Lord Treasurer and I have writ to him accordingly by the Queen's command. If he is persuaded to stay, the Queen is disposed to do whatever is possible to make your Lordship easy in the service, but of this I beg leave to refer to what my Lord Treasurer will write, who I know intends to write very fully to you upon this subject; however, at all events in case he should retire, or that his indisposition should not allow him to act, I do by her Majesty's command send to your Lordship a commission to command in chief all the forces in Spain in the absence of my Lord Galway; and your Lordship may depend upon it, that there is nothing in the Queen's power to do, to engage the King of Spain to be influenced entirely by your advice, that she won't do, and in everything to give you that credit and authority which is so necessary for the service.

I must also acquaint you that since her Majesty is willing that your Lordship and the troops with you should join the King of Spain and the forces in Valentia, it is expected that all the troops there should act together as much as possible, in order to march straight to Madrid, and not amuse themselves in lesser projects, which possibly some about the King may be too fond of. There will also be such assurances given to Portugal of sending some troops to join theirs as may engage them to make a diversion on that side and also to send their recruits to Valentia.

As for the want your Lordship mentions of horse, if there be any to be bought in Valentia, or from any other part, her Majesty leaves it entirely to you, but desires that what are bought may be in the first place for the English troops.

As to any veteran horse, which may be had from Italy, that must be left to the King of Spain's management with the Emperor, though I fear that will not be found practicable; and I hope they may be of as great use there, for I must acquaint you that there are measures now taking in Italy, that I hope will effectually prevent the French from sending more forces into Spain.

As to the provisions, there is a great quantity of biscuit prepared to be shipped for Valentia, as much as will serve 20,000 men for thirty days, which will be sent by the first convoy. For any other provisions, you may doubtlessly have them from Algiers, Tunis and Majorca; however if more is wanted they will be sent.

As for the clothing which you have with you, and which was designed for the French, it is her Majesty's pleasure that you offer it to our regiments that want, provided they will take it upon their own account, and if they won't, to the Spanish but upon

the same terms. As to the methods your Lordship proposes of recruiting the troops, that of breaking the weakest regiments into the strongest, and then sending the officers to England to raise them anew, is the method that has been taken and directions have been given accordingly.

I send you here enclosed a copy of a letter of Mons. Cavalier to the Queen. If you think the design practicable, and that the circumstances of affairs do permit it, her Majesty thinks it should be encouraged.

Postscript.—I must not forget telling you that her Majesty has recalled my Lord Peterborough, and that I have accordingly sent letters of revocation.

Lord Godolphin to [Earl Rivers].

1706, December 23.—I have had the honour to read to the Queen your letter of the 6th December, with the account of Colonel Worseley's return to you, and the desires of the King of Spain that you should forthwith bring the troops to Valentia, and your resolutions to do so accordingly.

Her Majesty approves of all you have done, and seemed very well pleased with the freedom you allow me of writing my thoughts plainly to you upon all occasions of importance to the service in which you are engaged.

In pursuance then of that method I must acquaint your Lordship that in case my Lord Galway can by any means be prevailed with to stay with the army or with the King of Spain, the Queen and all her Council are fully of opinion that is in the first place to be endeavoured for the good of the service; and in that case they also think that your Lordship will do yourself right in the opinion of her Majesty and the whole kingdom if you continue to stay with the troops; and, in case of my Lord Galway's absence, the Queen sends you a commission to command the whole in the same manner as my Lord Galway does, and will also recommend you as effectually to the King of Spain's favour and consideration.

As to the commission you mention from his Christian Majesty of the same nature with what my Lord Galway had from the Emperor it is thought here more for the Queen's honour that you decline it, unless you evidently find the service is like to suffer for want of such a distinction.

You should not expect now that any troops should follow you; whatever can be spared from hence will be sent to Portugal to contribute to a diversion on that side.

Monsieur de Montandre, who will give you this, was despatched ten days ago with a plan of another nature, but having been forced back by contrary winds he has been sent for up hither, upon the news of your going to Valentia, and new instructions given him accordingly.

I refer to him and Mr. Walpole to give you a particular account of the vigour and dispatch of our Parliament.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [EARL RIVERS].

1706, December 23. London.—This is the second letter you will receive from me by the Marquis Montandre. Since I wrote my first we have advice that you are preparing to sail in few days for Valentia, where I hope this will find you safely arrived with the troops, and preparing to take the field. I exhort the King in the most earnest manner that no time be lost in entering upon action before the French can have any considerable succours, and that his Majesty would please to afford a greater share of his confidence to the Queen's generals, to the want whereof we may in some measure attribute our past misfortunes. I intimate the same thing to Comte Noyelles and tell him that as you are old acquaintance I doubt not but there will be a perfect friendship between you. Your Lordship will soon find I believe that he has a great deal of credit with the King, and doubt not but you will be able to improve it as may be most for the service.

I must refer you for what passes here to the Marquis of Montandre, and pray you will believe me with much truth, &c.

EARL RIVERS to the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

1706, December 25. Lisbon.—I had done myself the honour to have writ to your Grace before, but that I have been so unfortunate in everything that I was to undertake that I had nothing to communicate to you worth your acceptance. These last instructions I received for my landing here will I fear prove more fatal still, for they are neither in a condition to do what is promised by Montandre and their envoy, nor, I have great reason to believe, willing if they were. This King is very young and entirely governed by the D[uke] of Cadaval, and his ministers are much the greatest part of the same principle; this by all that I can learn is certain, that if the King of Spain is not by me or speedily by some number of troops from England or Ireland supported, he will be forced to quit Spain. His expression in one of his letters is that if I did not come soon to his assistance he should be in a worse condition than he was last year. In order to which I had embarked the dragoons and, had not instructions come to the contrary, had sailed in two days.

I have by the advice of the general land and sea officers communicated to the King of Portugal by writing those conditions which her Majesty does expect he should agree to. Had it been left to me upon refusal not to have put my troops on shore in case any material matter demanded had been refused, then I could have known how to have acted, but I am ordered to insist upon some things which I shall heartily do, and not told how to act if denied; however I shall upon their answer, with the advice of the general officers and envoy of England and Holland, and if there be any room left that I can be safe, proceed still on and endeavour to save the King of Spain, who I fear will be lost before I can assist him; the Duke of Berwick being much stronger both in horse and foot. My Lord Galway has dealt ungentlemanlike by me, never so much as to mention the message

he sent Montandre about to England as to my landing here, but on the contrary presses me to come forthwith and land at Alsen and Denia or the King of Spain will be lost, or to that effect. All that he says of Portugal in a letter of an old date is, that if the Admiral does think it too late in the year to venture into the straits the next best thing is to land here. This I say in confidence lest the King of Spain suffer by its being known and not on my own account, for I value no one's displeasure of a subject but your Grace's and Lord Treasurer's which I will always endeavour to preserve.

The Portuguese envoy has put in his memorial what is false, wherein he says these troops under my command are furnished with equipage which will be of great use, the country not being able to supply them. Your Grace will be informed that there were but three horses to a battalion allowed to be transported and most of them were lost at sea or dead since. I am very well assured that the rest of his proposals has as little truth in them, but I shall let the King know we can not, if we are so unfortunate as to land here, march but by the same appointed [way?] as the troops under Lord Galway did.

Copy in Lord Rivers' handwriting.

Earl Rivers to the Earl of Sunderland.

1706, December 25, o.s. Lisbon.—Under the 5th current I gave Mr. Secretary Hedges an account of the resolution here taken by a Council of War, pursuant to her Majesty's instructions, and the unanimous desires of the King of Spain and my Lord Galway, as likewise the generals and ministers that assist in that Court, all which import that they were not in a condition to take the field, by reason of the great superiority of the enemy both in horse and foot, that they were apprehensive that they would attack Alicant, and that without our coming they would be exposed to the last extremities, and the King of Spain went so far as to conclude that without my coming he would be reduced to a worse condition than he was last year, besieged in some miserable town.

Pursuant to the said resolution I had actually embarked the dragoons and should have sailed within a day or two. Your Lordship may therefore believe that it was very surprising to me to receive her Majesty's instructions, which were brought me by this packet boat, to land all her forces here, and that the Queen should be advised thereto by my Lord Galway, who but a little before insisted so hard upon my joining him.

It is true the Queen does order me in her instructions to insist not only upon what the envoy of Portugal and Montandre have offered there, but likewise some other points, but there being no instructions given me what to do in case the King should not perform what his envoy has promised or the Queen does expect from him, which in truth I fear he cannot nor will not do, his answer therefore can only be referred to the judgment of a Council of War of our sea and land officers, wherein I designed

the Ministers of our Allies shall be present, pursuant to which I shall stay or go, and I having already given to the King of Portugal in writing a demand of what the Queen expects from him (a copy of which I send you), I am in hopes to have his answer before the packet boat goes, if not, it must be the subject matter of my next.

If after all the Queen does judge it for her service to have a body of troops in this country, I cannot but esteem myself a very improper person to command them. The just resentment which I have shown of their unfair dealing with us in detaining us here so long, the affront they have lately put upon the Queen's fleet, the particulars of which I refer you to Sir C. Shovell, who on this occasion has exerted himself in a manner becoming an English Admiral, and my constant though civil refusal of landing any of her troops without her orders has put me upon such a foot as I fear does unqualify me to serve with them, and besides I know neither their language nor their customs. But my Lord Galway who by his long service and experience in this country has judged that they are capable of doing great matters, I take to be the more proper person to see them performed.

I have here with me part of the clothing of the French regiments, the rest remaining in Ireland with the commissary who is incharged with them. I have often writ for orders to dispose of them and without them I will not do it, so that until then they will be of no use to us.

I do not doubt but that Mr. Methuen does fully inform her Majesty of the state of the Portuguese troops in this country, and yet I think it is my duty to let her know what I am credibly informed of that their foot exceeds not 4,000 at present, and their horse exceeds not 1,500 effective; what probability there is that they can send 6 or 7,000 recruits to Valentia, and put the number which they have promised into the field may be easily comprehended by anybody that has the least knowledge of the country.

The King of Spain and my Lord Galway having writ to me so positively to bring with me what corn I can procure, more especially barley, and saying that this could have been furnished in great measure from Majorca and other places, had they had some men-of-war and transports to fetch it, and I having mentioned in my last to the Secretary of State that I thought it proper that some men-of-war should be left under command of the King of Spain and her Majesty's generals, but upon further inquiry I find that Sir George Bing had ordered some for that purpose, which men-of-war are by chance since hobbled to Genoa. The Admiral tells me that he will leave some for that service. I cannot help upon this occasion saying that never any man was more zealous for her Majesty's service, nor more kind to her troops in assisting them with everything that is necessary. I do not doubt but Sir G. Bing will do the same when he is gone.

Copy.

Earl Rivers to the Earl of Sunderland.

1706, December 31. Lisbon.—In my last I sent your Lordship a copy of the proposals which pursuant to the Queen's instructions I presented to the King of Portugal, to which I had some days since his Majesty's answer (a copy of which I do likewise send you). By it you may perceive that as to the first point they assign neither the number of their recruits nor the time for their shipping off, and we are very well assured that it would be to no purpose if they did, they having few or none in the country, and that in Valentia they want 7,000.

As to the second point, they positively refuse that the Queen should have the paying of those subsidies which she and the States give them.

As to the third, they expect that the Queen should be at the expense of transporting their troops in case they should send any to Valentia.

As to the fourth about the 10,000 foot and 3,000 horse, they were to join me, their answer is only in general that they will raise the most they can, but we are assured that they can never comply in this point and indeed had they had any real design they would have begun their levies a great while ago.

As to the fifth about the carriage of the train stores of war and mouth provisions and the baggage of the army, they will be at no expense, but put it all upon the Queen and troops.

As to the sixth, the command of the army, they will have it whether they understand it or no.

It concludes that the country is indeed in great want of provisions and carriage so that it is not possible to provide for so great an army, and therefore demands but 4,000 foot and all our horse, the rest they desire may be sent to the King of Spain who they are very sensible is in want of them.

Upon the receipt of this answer I called a Council of War, of whose resolutions I here send you a copy, and I hope that what has been so maturely deliberated and so unanimously resolved will likewise meet with her Majesty's approbation.

It being therefore resolved that we should sail for Valentia it is very proper that your Lordship be informed of the number and strength of our forces there, which by the exactest account I can get is from 11 to 12,000 foot and 3 to 4,000 horse, comprehending the English, Dutch, Spaniards and Portuguese, as you may see more particularly by the enclosed list. What I carry with me is about 9,000 men.

From Spain we are informed that they have given out commissions for levying of 16,000 men in order to complete their army to 40,000 of which 10,000 will be horse. This is more likely because the extraordinary successes which they have lately had, and particularly the taking of Alcantara has mightily raised their drooping spirits. What expectations they have from France is better known to your Lordship. By what I have said the Queen may judge what is wanting to give us a superiority, and whereas our weakness will chiefly consist in horse I hope that some

proper measures will be taken to reinforce us. I can think of none more proper than to negociate for a good body of German horse which our transports may easily fetch from Italy.

I carry money with me to subsist the troops until the latter end of March, and by that time I cannot doubt but that there will be proper measures taken for the continuance of the same.

There is in Valentia a great want of corn and particularly barley, of which I have given an account home, from whence I hope that we shall be speedily and plentifully supplied, and in the mean time I will endeavour to get what I can from Majorca and Barbary.

Copy.

Earl Rivers to Lord Halifax.

1706, December 31, o.s. Lisbon.—I have met with so many disappointments since I first engaged in this expedition, that I thought it to little purpose to write my friends of what I was so uncertain of doing myself. But of all the counter orders that I have had from home, there is none that has so much surprised me as the last, which was to land all my forces here to serve in conjunction with the Portuguese. My surprise was still the greater because I found that it was chiefly by the advice of my Lord Galway that the Queen was induced to this resolution, who to this purpose sent home Montandre, who touched at this Court in his way, when measures were further concerted (conformable to the late memorial given to the Queen by the Portuguese Envoy) for which good service the said Montandre was I hear pretty well rewarded "*antemano*" (*sic*).

In conclusion I cannot but judge this the most pernicious advice that was ever given to the Queen, which in my Lord Galway could not be ignorance, he knowing better than anybody that the Portuguese are not in a condition, nor indeed ever intended, to perform what they promised the Queen, which is better seen by their answers to my proposals, than by anything I can say, a copy of which I send you here inclosed. Furthermore my Lord Galway could not be ignorant of our weakness in Valentia, and the great superiority of the enemy there both in horse and foot, which is reiterated and exaggerated in all their letters, as well the King's, his own, and the other Generals' and Ministers'.

What other consequence could this project have, but that the King should be either made a prisoner or drove into the sea, whilst we should be drivelling away our time in Portugal.

This conduct of his, I do assure your Lordship, has made as much impression upon me, as whatever I have since heard to his disadvantage, and has so alarmed everybody else that wishes us well, that one of them some days since put a paper into my hands of which I send your Lordship a copy, not doubting but that in your great prudence you will make a good use of it in reference to the King of Spain, whose circumstances will be rendered but the worse if this should be talked of. The poor

Prince knows all this and a great deal more, but whether he has given the Queen any account thereof I know not. For my part I am under no such necessity of managing anybody. I relate simply what I hear, and have just reason to fear is too true, for so it is credibly reported by a great many of the better sort of people in this country.

Mr. Methuen being very young may be very ignorant of his father's practices; he seems weary of this employment and desirous to go home. A man of quality and of an estate is certainly the more proper person to reside here, who will take upon him to see that what has been promised in that very ill treaty is performed, particularly as to the troops, for by the said treaty we were not to pay any until 15,000 of the Portuguese were made out to be on foot, and then we were to pay 13,000 Portuguese more provided they were actually in the field, otherwise in proportion only to what they had, for I can safely say that at present, all that they have both here and in Valentia exceeds not 15,000 men. The Dutch envoy Mr. Schonenbourg is so certain of this that he pays nothing, and tells us that we are a very generous people taking every thing upon content which he cannot answer for to his Masters.

Pursuant to the unanimous judgment of a Council of War of the Land and Sea Officers in which were present the Queen's Minister, as likewise those of Holland and Spain, we are resolved to go to Valentia. This resolution may save the King of Spain and cannot hurt the Portuguese, for if the Queen is resolved to send hither troops, which I hope in God she will not, they may be here before the Portuguese can take the field and be in readiness with their carriage, &c., to march them. I depend upon your friendship that you will represent these reasons to the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Treasurer which if they approve of them I am desirous it may be communicated to me by the Secretary of State at the Queen's orders.

I carry money with me to pay the troops under my command to the last of March, and I do not doubt but that my Lord Treasurer will support this great work, which cannot be done but by a very regular subsistence of the troops.

In my last I represented to the Queen the great want of corn in Valentia, and particularly barley, with which I hope we shall be very speedily and very plentifully supplied from home, not that I shall leave anything unattempted to help ourselves from Majorca, &c.

Copy.

Earl Rivers to Lord Halifax.

1706, December. Lisbon.—If so pernicious advice* had been given by any other but the Earl of Galway, who better than anybody knows these people and country and the impracticability

* That is, the advice referred to in the first paragraph of the preceding letter, which is word for word the same as the opening paragraph of this letter, omitted on that account. Much of it is however repeated towards the end of the letter.

of performing what he advised to, I should the less have wondered at it, but this his conduct has so scandalised all honest English men, that I must confess I have since opened both my eyes and ears to those reflections, which before were impenetrable to everything that reflected upon the fidelity of this otherwise so valuable a person.

I was soon let into the secret of the most infamous practices that ever were managed by men of the characters of the late Mr. Methuen and Lord Galway, the story of which you must have the patience to hear, because it is the grounds of those just suspicions which we have of their infidelity.

About the time of the King of Spain's embarcation for Barcelona there was a Frenchman taken upon these frontiers with divers letters in cyphers for the Courts of Madrid, France &c. He pleaded the pass of Mr. Ambassador Methuen which he had. Notwithstanding which the Marquis de la Frontierra, governor of that country, sent him prisoner to this Court, as likewise the intercepted letters to the King.

In Portugal they have a secret tribunal called the Inconfidentia where all matters of treason against the State are privately examined and finally judged, of which was president Señor Roco Montero, until then esteemed the partial friend of Mr. Methuen, and as Minister of the King of Portugal made with him the late treaty with the Allies.

The delinquent upon his examination confessed that Madam Armada, a French gentlewoman who is here married to a Portuguese, the French Vice-Consul and Mr. Methuen were complices. Accordingly the three French people were seized and imprisoned but in separate places, and their examination went forward.

Mr. Methuen at first denied that he had given any such pass, but he soon perceived that his pass was to be produced. He then denied that he knew anything of the letters, but the taking up of Madam Armada and the French Vice Consul soon put him upon other measures to secure himself before the matter came to such a height as to render his case irremediable. He therefore twice threw himself at the King's feet to implore his clemency, and at the same time negociated with his Ministers (it is to be supposed by those ways which are commonly practised in Courts); and he was very successful therein.

The King moved with compassion for the lady, by whom he has two children, and by his Ministers who represented to him that although Methuen was an ill man, yet his Majesty could not have a more useful one at his Court, for being master of his life and honour they could oblige him to condescend to whatever they would. Hereupon the King ordered Roco Montero, the aforesaid President of the Secret Tribunal, to pronounce them innocent.

Queen Catherine, who was at this time Regent of Portugal during the indisposition of her brother, was so far convinced of the guilt of Methuen, that she deliberated how to suspend him

from the functions of Ambassador, which she so positively insisted upon, that the Ministry found no other expedient by the King's resuming the government which he did.

Roco Montero, who lived and died in opinion one of the honestest men in Portugal, shewed no less constancy than the Queen, for he refused to comply with what the King commanded him, to whom he replied, that his life and estate were in his Majesty's power but not his conscience, that they were all convicted of treason which his Majesty might if he pleased pardon, but that for his part he was never to be induced to give any other sentence than according to his conscience and the laws of the land.

The King and his Ministers seeing that there was nothing to be gained this way, it was resolved to deprive this honest man, who for many years had managed the principal affairs of State, of all his employments. All the papers that related to the trial and examination of the aforesaid persons were sent for out of his hands and other judges were named to examine them, who, more obedient to the orders of the court, smuggled up the business. The Marquis de Algrete, the Prime Minister of this Court, gave Mr. Methuen a Carta Absolutoria of whatever was imputed to him, in consequence of which the prisoners were likewise set at liberty; but as secret as this matter was managed it could not but arrive to the knowledge of several worthy, as well as the principal nobility, who cannot but reflect with horror and shame at the weakness of their Prince and the ignominy of his Ministers.

Methuen is dead and incapable of doing good or hurt, so that I should not relate this long story if with his death I could hope that there was an end of treasonable practices, but the aforesaid Roco Montero did constantly and positively affirm that not only Methuen was convicted but, by the confession of the prisoners, that my Lord Galway was complice and knew that the foresaid letters were sent to the Courts of Spain and France, and this he persisted in to his death, which soon after happened as well as that of Queen Dowager. That which is certain is that my Lord Galway left nothing unattempted to bring Methuen off, which it seems it mightily imported him to do, for could the papers relating to this secret trial be produced, it is not to be doubted but that we should discover the most infamous practices that ever men of their characters were guilty of.

Your Lordship may judge in what melancholy condition the poor King of Spain must be in who was not ignorant of all these fine doings, but the fair prospect which the declarations of his kingdoms of Arragon, Valentia, Catalonia and its dependencies gave him of getting to Madrid without any further dependence on either my Lord Galway or the Portuguese did a little alleviate his grief and induce him to dissemble; and being other ways doubtful of the success, should he attempt the communicating this matter to the Queen, for the laws of England may require a more positive conviction and should it not be judged sufficient to remove this man it would render the King's case worse than before.

But now that the state of war is so unexpectedly changed, partly by the neglect of those advantages which we had the last campaign, and partly (it is to be feared) through roguery, this poor Prince is once more in the hands of those people he had so much reason to avoid, and I am very credibly informed that he is advised by his friends in Spain that above 30,000 pistoles have been given this campaign by the Duke of Anjou for private service, but what measure he will take to disengage himself I know not.

As to what relates to my expedition I cannot but judge it the most pernicious advice that ever was given to the Queen to land her troops in Portugal, which in my Lord Galway could not be the effects of ignorance, he knowing better than anybody that the Portuguese are not in a condition, and indeed never intended to perform what they promised the Queen, which is better seen by their answer to my proposals (which I here enclose) than by anything I can say. Furthermore my Lord Galway cannot be ignorant of our weakness in Valentia, and the great superiority of the enemy, which is reiterated and exaggerated both by the King himself and their Councils; what consequence therefore can this have, but that the King should either be drove in the sea, or made a prisoner whilst we should be drivelling our time away in Portugal. This conduct of his I do assure your Lordship has made as much impression upon me as whatever has been elsewhere said to his disadvantage.

As to Mr. Methuen the present envoy I have nothing more to say, than that he is the son of such a father, and it may be reasonably expected that he cannot be entirely ignorant of his father's [*words omitted*].

I do likewise know that there are people who have reflected upon his conduct when he acted here alone, but for my part I would rather attribute it to the levity of his youth than anything else, but this I ought to say, that we have not here that value and esteem which the dignity of our Queen and country deserve, the great figure we make in the world and the mighty expense of blood and treasure which we are exhausting to deserve it. This in a great measure depends upon the qualifications of the Minister, who to manage these proud conceited fools ought to be a man whose birth, riches and integrity might make him respected, who being entirely ignorant of the infamous practices of this Court, might oblige them to compliance with this treaty as disadvantageous a one as it was to us.

Copy.

Earl Rivers to the Earl of Sunderland.

1706-7, January 2. Gibraltar.—Since our departure from Lisbon we have met with very bad weather as well as contrary winds, but we being to touch at Gibraltar I judged it necessary to quit the fleet off Cape Mary's and go before. Upon my arrival I met with several letters from the King of Spain and Lord Galway, the copies of which I send you to avoid the repetition of the same.

The King does judge the danger he is in to be very great, and especially if the enemy should invade Catalonia by the way of Rousillion as it seems they intend, that unless we come to his succour both he and we are undone. My Lord Galway says that he can get no bread nor horses from Majorca, and expresses the great difficulties of getting mules for the army's baggage, artillery and provisions.

As to the force of the enemy and their undertakings I have nothing to say, relying as I do upon her Majesty's great prudence, who will undoubtedly send a sufficient number of troops to qualify us to act offensively; but as to the difficulty about the carriage of the army's baggage, the stores of war and of mouth, I very well apprehended them before my departure from England, and therefore I obtained her Majesty's sufficient instructions therein, that in case this great expense could not be otherways avoided whatever I should be forced to disburse upon this account should be allowed. To which purpose I writ at large to my Lord Galway in hopes to engage the King and those provinces in this expense, which by his answer your Lordship will perceive is not to be done, and the troops not being in a condition to defray this great expense themselves, your Lordship will judge it but very equitable that her Majesty's troops serving in the same country and in the same army be put upon the same foot. I have with me but three months' pay for my troops, so that when I shall be obliged to make this extraordinary expense, I am not without fear that we shall want money before more will come, which must entirely ruin our affairs, and therefore I cannot but insist that timely remittances be made, and such other measures taken to support us. As to the rest, her Majesty may be assured that I shall husband the public money as if it were my own.

I have frequently represented the great want of provisions in Valentia and therefore I earnestly desired that a large supply of wheat flour, barley and biscuit might speedily be sent and I hope that it is upon the way, for unless it comes very soon, we shall be so far from being able to undertake anything that I see not how we can subsist in the country pursuant to the advices they have, and besides it is highly advantageous to the Queen and country that we should supply as great a part as possible from thence of the foreign expense by the growth of England.

Your Lordship will perceive how much the King of Spain depends upon the assistance of a squadron of our ships to stay with him, but I very much fear whether the shortness of their provisions will permit them to remain there any longer than to put us ashore, which cannot but be highly prejudicial to the public service, and seeing the Queen is at the expense of maintaining this garrison it is more than to be wondered at there is not lodged the necessary magazines as well of naval stores as of provisions to supply the necessities of the fleet.

I am informed that my Lord Peterborough is returned from Italy to Valentia with new projects not to be executed in Spain, and that he knows nothing of his being superseded in his command, about which he makes no little stir. It is easy for your

Lordship to apprehend the ill consequences which such confusion must produce, which I hope her Majesty will soon remedy one way or another, for as there is no man more forward to serve her Majesty than myself when I can do it with her honour and the public good, so I want not personal reasons enough not to be a spectator of such a campaign at the last was in Spain.

Copy.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

[1706-7,] January 4, Saturday.—I am sorry the Bishop of London is so very refractory, it is certainly for the Queen's service to oblige the country and my Lord Chief Justice [Holt] in giving this living to Clegatt, and the claim of the Bishop upon which he surprised the Queen into this promise is founded upon nothing but silly nonsense; but something or other must always hinder right things from being done.

Mr. Strangeways is very desirous of the honour of seconding Lord Granby. Pitt is also ready to join in the motion, but, by by what I hear, the former will take it ill if anybody should be pointed to before him.

I think there is not much to be said upon your Scotch letters more than to ask you what should be given to D[e] F[oe].

The Duke of Cambridge's patent being passed, should not a messenger be sent with it by the next packet boat to Mr. Howe?

I should be glad to hear what answer you have from Sir G. Heathcote.

General James Stanhope to Earl Rivers.

1707, January 5-16. Valentia.—I am honoured with your Lordship's of the 12th of Dec., for which I return you my most humble thanks. So soon as I hear the fleet is on this coast, I will not fail to come and pay my respects to your Lordship, and receive your commands.

Your Lordship will have heard that my Lord Peterborough is returned hither from Italy; he expects orders from England in relation to a project sent thither which his Lordship had concocted with the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, and which is not to be executed in Spain.

King Charles of Spain to Lord Rivers.

1707, January [6-]17. Valencia.—J'aprens avec bien de plaisir par vôtre lettre du 23^{me} de Decembre la resolution que vous avés prise de venir à mon secours avec les trouppes de debarquement, qui se trouvent sous vos ordres. J'espere que vous contribuerés de tous vos bons offices, à ce, que la flotte ou au moins une bonne et forte Escadre demeure dans cette mer, pour pouvoir mener toutes les trouppes en Campagne, dont sans celà je devrois laisser une bonne partie pour la seureté des côtes et particulierement de ma principauté de Catalogne. Je n'ay rien à ajouter à ma lettre et au projet, que je vous ay envoyé

avec mon Ajudant Royal Rosenthal, si non que je demeure dans les memes sentimens, à scavoir qu' aprés le debarquement des trouppes vous entriés immediatement en operation vers la ville d'Orijuela, Elcha, Cartagene, et la Murcie pour étendre nos quartiers, et faire rafraichir la Cavallerie. Pour le surplus je me rapporte de nouveau au Comte de Galloway, et en attendant avec empressement le plaisir de vous embrasser je vous assure de ma parfaite estime et reconnoissance.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND to the EARL OF PETERBOROUGH.

1706-7, January 14. Whitehall.—Her Majesty having been informed by letters from Genoa the last post, from other persons as well as by your Lordship's of the 12th of December, N.S., to my Lord Treasurer, and of the 14th of December, N.S., to Mr. Bridges, that your Lordship has taken up great sums of money there at a most extravagant price, has commanded me to acquaint you that she has ordered the bills for the said money not to be accepted, the same having been drawn without any authority or permission from her Majesty, and at such a price which, if answered, must affect all the remittances that shall be necessary to be made for the public service the whole year; and also because it appears that some of the persons at Genoa with whom your Lordship has transacted for this money had notice from hence that their bills would not be accepted, and that provision was otherwise made for the supplying with money the army in Valencia, and at a much cheaper rate than could be done from Italy; the Queen thinks this the more extraordinary, in that your Lordship never acquainted either her Majesty or any of her ministers with your intentions to take up such great sums of money for her service.

I am commanded at the same time, to take notice to your Lordship of the extraordinary manner in which you left Spain, where you had so great a trust committed to you by her Majesty's commissions to go to negotiate matters with other Princes, without any orders from the Queen for so doing, or any credentials to those Princes. Upon all these accounts, I am commanded by her Majesty to let your Lordship know that it is her pleasure that you return forthwith to England to acquaint her Majesty with the reasons and grounds of your proceedings.

Copy.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND to EARL RIVERS.

1706-7, January 14. Whitehall.—I had the honour of yours of the 25th of December, O.S., and am very sorry you received so unluckily the first orders that were sent you to stay, just as you was going, but I take for granted, as the winds have been, you must have received in very few days after the last orders that were sent for your going on to Valentia, as the King of Spain desires. However, lest any accident should have happened to the packet, I am commanded by her Majesty to renew those last

orders to you of going on to Valentia as soon as possible; and perhaps the backwardness of the Portuguese in consenting to what you have demanded will make your going easier both to you and them; however, in order to keep up their spirits, I have directed Mr. Methuen, from the Queen to assure the Court there that the troops which were to have followed your Lordship from Ireland shall be sent to them as soon as possible, and that her Majesty will do all in her power to forward any projects they may have on the side of Portugal, provided they do send forthwith their recruits to Valentia. As to what your Lordship mentions as to the clothing of the French regiments, that is left with a commissary in Ireland, care will be taken that it shall be sent with the troops that are to go from thence. We were very much surprised with the account of their firing upon our ships and her Majesty does entirely approve of what Sir Cloudesley Shovell has done, and in order to prevent the like for the future, has sent directions to Sir Cloudesley Shovell in case the like should ever be done to take his own satisfaction, and has ordered Mr. Methuen to acquaint the Court of Portugal with these directions. I hope this will find you in Valentia.

Postscript.—Lord Somers and Lord Halifax have charged me with their compliments to your Lordship.

I send your Lordship here a copy of a letter [*see above*] I have writ to my Lord Peterborough, by her Majesty's order.

Earl Godolphin to Earl Rivers.

1706-7, January 24.—I am to acknowledge the favour of two letters from your Lordship by Mr. Bradshaw, and am glad to find you had the satisfaction before you left Lisbon to know the Queen approved of your going to join the King of Spain, according to his desire.

Your Lordship commands me to write freely my thoughts to you upon all occasions, and I shall willingly do so, both for that reason and because I hope it may be for your service.

I think it was pretty strong to insist in your memorial to the King of Portugal that you could not obey anybody but his Majesty, because it differs from the Treaty, and also from the precedent of my Lord Galway submitting to be commanded by the Marquis das Minas.

As to what your Lordship seems to think you have reason to take ill of my Lord Galway, you may please to consider that when my Lord Galway sent Montandre to Lisbon, and from thence hither, he sent but his own thoughts; he did not know how they would be approved at Lisbon, or at London, he did not think perhaps that we should ever agree to carry so great a transport as far as Valentia, at that season of the year. Besides that, Cuenza was not then lost, nor the army so much straitened as they were afterwards by that and some other misfortunes of the same kind, upon which the King of Spain called the Council of War, which came to the resolution of desiring your Lordship to join him with the troops under your command. This being the

case, I find it is not only mine but the general opinion of all your friends here, that my Lord Galway has in nothing deserved ill of your Lordship or of the public.

But now to look forward. Since my Lord Galway in all his letters for many months together seems desirous to retire, in case he persists in that resolution the chief command must necessarily fall upon your Lordship.

The Parliament has voted supplies for the army in Spain, and 40,000*l.* for the personal expenses and equipage of the King.

It is fit that you should be informed the Queen and the States seem to agree in opinion that all your force should act jointly, and by no means to divide the army, which we are told is the Count Noyelle's inclination, but still all things of this nature must be in great measure submitted to the prudence and discretion of those upon the place, and I doubt not but you will govern yourselves according to the strength and motions of the enemy, and according to the carriages and provisions you are masters of for your own troops.

One thing only, I think, one may venture to assure you that whatever brags of that kind are given out, France cannot possibly be in any condition of sending troops to the assistance of Spain this next campaign; and therefore we ought not to be so much afraid of an enemy behind us as intent upon pressing before us. I wish you prosperity and success, and am ever, &c.

Lord Halifax to [Earl Rivers].

1706[-7], January 27.—I am honoured with three letters from your Lordship, that of the 31st December is I believe the longest you ever writ, which I esteem as a particular mark of your favour and friendship to me. It contains so many matters of the highest importance, that I wish I may be able to make that use of it that the confidence you put in me deserves. I showed it to Lord S[omers] and he is extremely surprised at what is said of Lord G[alway]. He is very much a friend to Lord G. but may be trusted with anything that comes from Lord Rivers. I find your Lordship has wrote to the same purpose both to the Duke of M[arlborough] and Lord Treasurer, and we are all unwilling to believe so ill of a man we have long had a good opinion of. The appearances are very strange, but he had so much partiality for the old Rogue [John Methuen] that is gone, and was so much governed by him, both in Ireland and Portugal, that I hope he had no share in the guilt, though he has so great a one in the scandal. I have always thought Methuen was the ruin of our affairs in Spain, he was truly the Minister of Portugal, and not of England. He diverted the war from being made in the West Indies which would have enriched us, and touched Spain most sensibly, to carry it into a place from whence we had no assistance, but they had our money, and France the silver of the Indies.

Count Zinzerling is now here from the King of Spain and, as I have heard, in a private audience which he desired of the Queen, complained of one of the Portuguese Generals which the King suspects, but he carried his suspicions no further.

I hope when you see Lord Galway, you will in some manner or other be satisfied with him; the King of Spain's Court is so ill disposed, you will meet with difficulty enough there, to keep them right, though you were more united and acted in concert. I may tell you one thing in confidence; they take it ill here, that you were so peremptory to refuse to obey any but the King of Portugal, which was contrary to the treaty which must be observed till we get a better. I have a nephew, Aid du Camp to Lord Galway, which I must recommend to your Lordship's favour and protection. There is also another gentleman, Major Kemp, who is under your Lordship's command that I hope you will be kind to. Lord M[arlborough] makes difficulty in giving General Erle that command, and says he has writ to you about it. I shall give your Lordship some account of our affairs as occasion offers.

The Earl of Sunderland to Earl Rivers.

1706-7, January 28. Whitehall.—I have the honour of your two letters of the 31st December and the 2nd of January, by Major Bradshaw, and am very glad to find that you had received mine of the 20th of December; her Majesty does entirely approve of the resolution you have taken, of not dividing the troops, but of carrying them all to Valentia, and has ordered me to recommend you, that when you are landed, you do all you can to prevent any division of the troops, which by all the letters from thence seems to be the design of Comte Noyelles, but will doubtless be fatal to the service if not prevented.

I hope this good success in Aragon will make everything easier to you when you are in Valentia, and particularly with respect to the want of corn, which by the taking of Mequinenza you may be more easily supplied with. However, all that can be done from hence will be.

As for what money you may want after the end of March for the subsistence of the troops you may depend upon my Lord Treasurer's care in it.

We shall be very impatient till we hear of your being landed. You will be very well pleased to hear that the Parliament has voted 150,000*l.* extraordinary for the support of the King of Spain and the paying of 6,000 of his own troops, which he promises shall be actually in the field, by Mons. Zinzerling who is come over from him.

The Earl of Peterborough to Earl Rivers.

1706-7, [January 28-]February 7. Valentia.—I most heartily wish that your Lordship may have less trouble and as much good fortune as I have had in this country. I believe you will soon be sensible that I have had infinite fatigues and that I have done my duty.

I have talked with Britton that is much your servant about all manner of things, which had I seen your Lordship, I should have spoke to you about. I am glad to find you have that good opinion of "Gorge" [Galway?] that he deserves.

If the enemies come into Catalonia, as the present news seem to intimate, I doubt the campaign here may have its difficulties, otherwise the body of good foot will make its way.

From Italy I shall be able to supply you with good intelligence and good wine, both which are sufficiently wanting in the country, and my Lord I hope you believe, that upon all accounts for your public character, for your own, and having the honour of being your relation, upon all these motives you may depend upon the utmost of my services. And if things should go ill, assure yourself that if I can procure any remedy I will even return myself rather than omit anything in my power for the public service.

[H. St. John to Robert Harley.]

1706-7, January 30.—I was this morning by Lord Marlborough's direction at your house to enquire after your health, and whether he might see you before he went to St. Albans, from whence he will not return till Sunday night, perhaps till Monday. He commands me to let you know (and this I imagine is the least troublesome way of doing it) that he hopes at his return to find you quite recovered; and desires you would prepare an answer against Tuesday from the Queen to the States concerning his going back to Holland, which cannot possibly be in the middle of March, as they desire.

I cannot finish this note without telling you that when I waited on the Queen yesterday she enquired after your health, and expressed her concern for your illness in such terms as I am sure came from the bottom of her heart. She said so much of your having prejudiced your health in her service, and showed so much trouble, that I thought it was proper for me to tell you particularly of it.

Adieu, my dear friend; I love you without affectation or reserve, and wish you health not only in this character, but as I am a good Englishman.

King Charles of Spain to Lord Rivers.

1707 [January 30-]February 10. Valencia.—Ayant receu par Mr. Richards une de vos letres, et dans le mesme temps ayant entendeu la heureuse nouvelle de l'arrive de la flotte, et de votre chere personne a Alicant, et comme j'etois deja longtems auparavant informé du Pere Finfuegos de votre grand zele et particuliere affection que vous professies pour ma personne et interests, Je n'ay pas pu m'empecher de vous embrasser par cette letre et me rejouir avec vous de votre heureuse arrivée, en vous remerciant que vous ayez vouleu bien venir icy avec vos troupes à mon secours, et vous temoignant la particuliere

confiance et estime que j'ay pour votre personne comme pour un si zelé pour mes interest. C'est pourquoy pour vous pouvoir moy même embrasser et vous temoigner plus emplement de bouche ce que contiene cette letre, comme je desire fort de tenir avec vous une particuliere bonne harmonie, et secrete confiance; je souhaitrie fort [meme j'el trouve tres necessaire] si sa fûs possible, de m'aboucher avec vous meme seulment que sa seret pour 24 heures, et que vous [ne disant si se peut a aucune rien de havoir receu celle cy] sur des autres pretext tachies de venir ici parsque je desire de concerter tout avec vous en confiance et n'entrer dans aucune operazion sans votre sentiment. Sur quoy et sur plusieurs choses j'espere de vous entretenir plus emplement, et je vous embrasse en vous asseurant de ma particuliere estime et affection que j'ay pour votre chere personne.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

[1707, January.] Sunday at two.—I should be glad you would do me the favour to carry me to Kensington this evening in your chariot. I will stay for you at home.

We have settled the representatives in Scotland, and poor Lord Stair is dead, which is a loss and would have been a much greater loss, if it had happened sooner.

Earl Rivers to the Lord Treasurer.

1707, January —. Gibraltar.—Upon my arrival here I met with several letters from Valentia the copies of which I do send to my Lord Sunderland. The King more than ever is apprehensive of his security unless I go speedily to his succour, the enemy being forming of troops in Rousillion to invade Catalonia on that side, which if it be true, will undoubtedly very much puzzle us.

I was in hopes to have saved the Queen the expense of carrying the army's baggage, the artillery, and bread by putting the King of Spain and his country upon doing of it, but by my Lord Galway's answer your Lordship will perceive that at last it must be at the public charge.

Your Lordship knows very well what money I have with me, so that being forced to make this great expense at my first landing, I am apprehensive that money will fall short before I shall receive any more, unless your Lordship will take some extraordinary measures to supply us therewith, which should it happen must entirely ruin our whole affair.

The King presses very hard that a squadron may stay with him, but I fear that the fleet has so little victuals as not to be able to remain in the Mediterranean any longer than to put us ashore, the situation of this place is so very advantagous that it were to be wished that magazines were here established as well of naval stores as of provisions for the fleet, for want of which our ships have been frequently distressed.

I hear that my Lord Peterborough is at Valentia and that he has brought from Italy a new project, of which I know nothing but that it is not to be executed in Spain. He knows nothing of his being recalled home, and therefore continues in the exercise of his command to the great confusion of the public affairs, which I hope her Majesty will one way or other put an end to, for so much disorder cannot produce any advantage to her service, nor any pleasure to them who are to command. At least I shall very unwillingly be a spectator of such another campaign as was the last.

I have often writ home of the great scarcity of provisions which there is in Valentia, and that without a speedy succour was sent of wheat, meal, barley and bisket we should be scarcely able to subsist in the country, much less to undertake any thing, and therefore I hope that we shall not be long without it, it being so visibly for her Majesty's service and the good of England that whatever part of the public expense can be supplied by the growths of our country should be done. *Copy.*

P[aul] Methuen to Earl Rivers.

1707, February [9-]20, n.s. Lisbon.—I hope this will find your Excellency and the forces under your command safely ashore, but we have no news of the fleet since your departure except what was brought by a Dutchman who says he left you near Cape de Gatt. It happens well that this frigate has staid a little longer than was intended, for she now carries you the latest which came from England by the last packet boat, and I have taken care to send those that are for your Excellency in a bag to Mr. Stanhope. Everything goes on here with its usual slowth and though the Portuguese still talk of entering Spain and going to Segovia, I do not think their preparations answerable to their promises, and therefore as I am assured from England that those forces which were designed to follow your Excellency will be sent hither, so I have used my endeavours that if upon their arrival here the Portuguese were not in a condition to undertake something considerable they may be sent forward to your Excellency where they may be of some use.

General James Stanhope to Earl Rivers.

1707, February [9-]20. Valencia.—My Lord Galway having writ several times to your Excellency on the points you did me the honour to mention to me, I have not thought it necessary to trouble your Lordship; but the King having now declared that he intends in about eight days to go towards Catalonia I think it my duty to acquaint your Lordship therewith, imagining your Lordship may think it convenient to wait on his Majesty, which if you do not do before he goes it may be some time before you can have an opportunity to do it. No motion of the troops on this side can be made within these ten days for want of provisions which are gathering and providing as fast as is possible, so I am

in hopes to have soon the fortune of kissing your Lordship's hands here, which I very much desire both for the public and my own sake. I need not repeat to your Lordship that I hope you will do me the honour to accept of an indifferent quarter with me.

My Lord Galway who is now with me, does not write to your Excellency because I do, but flatters himself he shall soon have the honour of seeing you here and thinks it will be for the service you should take measures together both for the intended expedition on the side you are of, as likewise to settle a plan for the whole campaign. By his Lordship's command I send the enclosed paper relating to the charge of the mules.

Postscript.—I shall find a bed and a few bottles of claret for my Lord Essex if his Lordship have a mind to see Valencia.

The Earl of Sunderland to Earl Rivers.

1706-7, February 14. Whitehall.—I have before acknowledged your Lordship's of the 31 December and 2 January, o.s., as I do now that of 5 January, o.s., in which you sent me enclosed a copy of one from Monsieur Montandre, to Lord Galway. One can't very well judge by that letter, not knowing what passed between him and the Court of Portugal after that was writ, for it appears by that very letter that they were not come to a final resolution then. As for my Lord Galway, he has had a great many difficulties to struggle with which probably have hindered him from acting vigorously, as he would have done; but on the other side it is as certain, that he had once done the business, and if he had been supported we had continued masters of Madrid and probably by this time had been so of all Spain. Upon the whole matter, your coming there with such a body of men as you have with you I hope will restore all our affairs, and I don't doubt but my Lord Galway's temper is such that you and he will have no uneasiness.

As to what you write about Major Russell, it is certainly very reasonable that officers should either attend their posts or not be kept in, my Lord Marlborough has desired me to tell you that he has spoke to this Russell, and that he does intend to go to his post in Spain forthwith. As to what you desire to have a positive answer, aye or no, to all material matters, I assure you it shall not be my fault, if you have not, I will do my best to obtain it, and always let you know it as soon as I can.

Lord Somers to Earl Rivers.

1706-7, February 17. London.—I have been very desirous to lay hold of the first opportunity of acknowledging the honour of your Lordship's of the 3rd of January. I perceive, with a good deal of concern, upon comparing it with what your Lordship wrote to my Lord Halifax, that I went much too far in what I ventured to say in a former letter I took the liberty to send to your Lordship. I confess ingenuously to your Lordship that I thought myself so well established in your good opinion, that it

had not been possible for you to have thought that in any hint I should give to your Lordship I should have any other consideration than that of your interest and service. I assure you I had no other, I had no regard to anybody else, not to him you call my friend; and since it is necessary to say it, I had not written with so much freedom, but at the importunity of all your particular friends, with whom I am acquainted, who would not be satisfied but that I, whom they knew to be so entirely your servant, had credit enough to presume to write all their thoughts.

Your Lordship knows my thoughts of Methuen, and that no man in England had better reason than I to have those thoughts of him. I knew as well as anybody the partiality the Lord G. had for him, and have blamed it as much, but if I had disliked it more, yet the march to Madrid would have cured me of any suspicion of his entering into any wrong measures designedly till I was better informed. I never heard a tittle of his doing anything disobliging to your Lordship, till I received your letter, and no servant you have should more enter into a resentment of that kind, but as I know nothing of the particulars, so perhaps your Lordship may find it a mistake upon further information, which I say only from former observation of the natural temper of the man. My Lord, I may say you know how passionately I have longed to see you at the head of an army, and all our friends know how positively I have always asserted, that you would make as great a figure in such a station as the nature of things would bear. I am still of the same mind. Nobody living wishes it more, nor shall anybody take more pains to contribute what he can to make you easy in such a station, therefore pray forgive my freedom in telling you the thoughts of your friends in England, especially when they happened to agree unanimously with the opinion of those who were in the administration. Any advice at this time would be impertinent because the matter must have taken its turn one way or other. But I beg your Lordship to be assured that I will lose no opportunity of giving you all the proofs I am capable of that I am your particular servant preferable to anybody whatsoever. I have talked of this whole affair with my Lord Treasurer at large, and all he would conclude with to me was, that he had answered your request, which was to use freedom with you as a friend, and that he had sent his whole heart to you very plainly. I wish all success to your Lordship very heartily. I hope you will find great credit with the King and be able to keep him right. I am bound to tell you the notion of all people here, that the troops ought to be kept together, and that all should be done to act offensively, the charge being so excessive that it will not bear delay, and according to the intelligence here, the French not being in circumstances to send any considerable number of troops into Spain.

My dear Lord, pardon any fault I have been guilty of, since I am sure I said nothing but with a good intention, and that no man is more your faithful servant than Somers.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1706-7, February 20.—Monsieur Schultz showed me this morning a letter from Hanover in which those ministers assure him of the King of Sweden's not having taken measures with France, and of his intentions to prosecute the war against the Czar, but at the same time they say he is resolved not to stir from Saxony till the treaty with King Augustus be fully complied with, and that he is very pressing for the meeting of the ministers of those who warranted the treaty of Travendale in order to the execution of that treaty. He added it was the opinion of the Elector, his master, that it would be very clearly the interest of the Queen and the rest of the Allies to gratify the King of Sweden in these particulars.

I must own myself to have been long of the same opinion, both because neither of these points seem to be unreasonable in themselves, and though there were more objection to either of them than I think there is, yet we ought to avoid as long as possibly we can the giving any handle to the King of Sweden to act openly to the prejudice of the Allies; but I have little hopes of prevailing with Holland to make a reasonable step in this, any more than in other things.

In the mean time, I think it is extremely necessary that Mr. Robinson should be written to, that he should undeceive the King of Sweden of the false impressions France has endeavoured to give him of the Queen's having contributed to excite the Czar to continue the war in Poland, which he may be otherwise but too apt to believe, because the Dutch are certainly enough inclined that way.

Upon the whole, I think Mr. Robinson should do his best to take off these impressions, and to encourage the meeting desired by the King of Sweden about the treaty of Travendale.

If I have troubled you too much with my politics, it is because I think France has no solid prospect of any relief, but from the false steps of the Allies with the King of Sweden.

Earl Rivers to Lord Halifax.

1707, February 23. Alicant.—I have from Lisbon given your Lordship an account of those just and reasonable difficulties which I had of serving with my Lord Galway, and of my desires to return home. At Gibraltar I met with letters from Lord Treasurer and Somers, which laid such a stress upon my proceeding that I could not but have a regard to the judgment of so good a friend. About the same time I received assurances from my Lord Galway that I should remain with the independent command of my troops, so I resolved to continue until her Majesty's pleasure should be further communicated to me—not doubting of her goodness that she would propose anything to me unbecoming my quality and post as the serving in the nature of Lieutenant-General under my Lord Galway would be.

Being come here to Alicant and having occasion to treat of the public affairs with him, I have great reason to suspect that he only meant to impose upon me, and no ways to comply with what he promised, for which ungentlemanlike dealing as well as for many other more weighty reasons, which are by this time well known to your Lordship, I hope that neither your Lordship nor any other my good friends will wonder that I should refuse to support so poor a character, together with a great share of the shame which their unaccountable conduct has hitherto occasioned; for so great is the power and influence which my Lord Galway has over the Portuguese that he neither would, or at least did not, persuade them to quit Madrid and march to the Ebro, whereby he would not only have hindered the French from getting out of Navarre, but likewise the conjunction of them with the Duke of Berwick, which would have put an end to the war of Spain. After which they resolved to retire to Valentia not only contrary to the sentiments of the King but the very protestations of the Spaniards in general, who much better than they knew the country, and when they did retreat it was in such disorder that besides many thousands of men which they lost *mal àpropos* the country was plundered and burnt without regard to anything sacred or profane, that whatever passed at Port St. Mary's was but a jest to it, with this only difference, that there was not so much to steal. This cruelty, together with the little deference that was paid to the King, has made him resolve that unless it be remedied, he cannot retake the field to be a spectator of so great disorders, where he is so far from being treated as a king in his own country that they pay him not the respect of a general, to the great scandal of the Spaniards and the great prejudice of the common cause.

The truth of the matter is, that the Portuguese are to ruin Spain beyond recovery, and, if they could, pull it to pieces, that they may never be under any further apprehensions, and let the war last; so far as my Lord Galway conforms to them in these points he can influence them, but no other ways. The first step to be made to remedy so great disorders must be to take proper measures that the King of Portugal will pay his troops, and if it be true that my Lord Galway has so much interest in Portugal as he makes you believe, why is he not employed there, when it is so much apprehended that they will either not take the field at all or will do it to little purpose.

I have not as yet seen my Lord Galway, it may be when I do, he may be inspired with something more reasonable than what at present he insists upon; but should he still persist in his sentiments I see not how it is possible for me to stay, which I would very willingly do because my Lord Treasurer does me the honour to desire it, for these misunderstandings will be a perpetual source of difficulties to the great prejudice of the service; and therefore seeing that her Majesty has that entire confidence in Lord Galway, it were much better that he only commands. As to General officers they are here in such numbers that the service will not be prejudiced should Mr. Erle and I go home.

Draft.

General J. Stanhope to Earl Rivers.

1707, February [15-] 26. Valencia.—I did myself the honour some days ago to write to your Excellency that the King was to make a journey to Catalonia in a few days, which letter I don't know whether your Lordship has received; I told your Lordship also that want of bread and corn for men and horses would for ten days hinder the troops on this side to draw together. These reasons made me hope your Lordship might incline to come hither, where I believe your Lordship's presence will be much for the service, in order to settle as well these matters your Lordship did me the honour to speak about, as the scheme and plan of this (enemies' ?) operation. The King holds his resolution of going in ten days, as I believe, at farthest. My Lord Galway commands me to acquaint your Lordship that he is to meet the Portuguese Generals to-morrow to see whether and how soon our troops on this side can be put in motion, if it be still thought serviceable to attempt Orihuela and Murcia. His Lordship is advised the enemies are drawing some forces together about Yecla.

The Same to the Same.

1707, February [16-] 27. Valencia.—The advices we have here from the frontiers make us a little in pain for your Lordship, it being said the enemies have drawn together a considerable body, and we here being in no condition to move for want of provisions, though we are made to hope by our new assentistas that in a few days we shall be supplied. I am the more concerned at this, because it may perhaps prevent your Lordship's coming hither, where I should have hoped your Lordship and my Lord Galway might have come to a right understanding in what concerns both your Lordships and which is of such consequence for the public service. I know not what to wish may be the effects of the issue on which my Lord Galway puts this matter, but am thus far of Lord Galway's opinion, which I believe also to be your Lordship's, that unless there can be a perfect good union and understanding between your Lordships, 'tis better there stays but one here, and whosoever's lot it shall be, I have too much reason to fear he will meet with very great difficulties from the extravagance of the several people we have to do with. I need not tell your Lordship how great a mortification it is to me to see things brought to this pass between two persons for whom I have the greatest respect and value; and that since this unhappy situation of affairs gives me too much reason to fear they cannot both serve her Majesty here, I shall to the utmost of my power be subservient to him that shall undertake this troublesome task. *Signed.*

Postscript.—I shall dispatch the pacquet boat from hence in two days, but send orders to the captain to call at Alicant for your Excellency's letters.

The Duke of Berwick to Earl Rivers.

1707, [February 22-]March 4. Orihuela.—Finding here a drummer of your army, I could not let slip the occasion of renewing our old acquaintance, and at the same time desire your Lordship will be pleased to let me know how my mother is in her health, for you may easily believe that at this distance I seldom learn news of my friends beyond sea; if there be anything in this country wherein I may be serviceable to you, be pleased to honour me with your commands.

General J. Stanhope to the Earl of Sunderland.

1707, [February 26-]March 8. Valencia.—The Earl Rivers will probably be with your Lordship as soon as this letter, and give your Lordship an account of the situation of affairs here. His Lordship and my Lord Galway have thought it for her Majesty's service, as it certainly is, that there should be but one General and one establishment. My Lord Galway offered his Lordship the command of the whole, which he would by no means accept of so long as my Lord Galway could be persuaded to stay. I shall not trouble your Lordship with any detail relating to the troops nor with the views of our campaign, which my Lord Galway I know does very fully. The King went yesterday towards Catalonia, from whence his Majesty promises to join the army as soon as the Generals shall acquaint him they are ready to enter Castile. Our time has been so taken up in conferences and preparations for the King's journey, and mine particularly with my Lords Rivers and Galway settling what might be necessary before his Lordship left this place, which he did this morning, that I have not had a fit occasion to enter into negotiation about our treaty of commerce, and this journey of the King's will occasion a further delay in that matter. I shall follow his Majesty in a few days and lose no opportunity of posting this business.

My Lord Rivers will acquaint your Lordship with some particulars relating to the subject matter of my letter to your Lordship of the 24th of last month, which letter was by a mistake of mine, as I perceive by reading over the copy, dated wrong, for it should have been the 23rd.

Copy.

Earl Rivers to General J. Stanhope.

1707, March [6-]17. Alicant.—I having forgot to take in writing what was agreed upon between my Lord Galway and myself, you being present when I was at Valentia, I have therefore desired my Lord Galway to sign a paper to that purpose, a copy of which I send you. I cannot imagine that he will refuse it, but in case he should make any difficulty, I desire that you will persuade him to what is more reasonable, which if you cannot do, do pray sign it yourself, for I would not have our friends in England who are in the same interest imagine that we are parted

otherwise than friends, which would give our adversaries an opportunity of prejudicing the interest of our party. In case this finds you in Valentia pray dispatch this gentleman with all expedition. In case you desire a copy of what you now sign, I will send you one signed by me.

Copy.

General J. Stanhope to Earl Rivers.

1707, March [7-]18. Valencia.—I have received your Lordship's letter of the 16th, but have no letters from England for your Lordship in my packets, and my Lord Galway's secretary tells me there are none in his. There is but one letter come from the office, which served only to cover one to my Lord Peterborough of which a copy is sent me. It orders his Lordship to return forthwith to England to acquaint her Majesty with the reasons and grounds of his proceedings.

The business of provisions for our army is not so forward as we hoped, and will I fear occasion some delay in our taking the field. I am going in two days to Barcelona, where I shall be very proud to receive any commands your Lordship may have.

Postscript.—Pray my most humble service to Lord Essex and Mr. Erle if with you.

Queen Anne to Robert Harley.

[1707, March.] Wensday.—This is to desire you when the Act of Union exemplefyed is finished that you would order one of the messengers to cary it into Scotland. I beleeve it will be proper for you to writt to the Duke of Queensberry on this occasion, or Sir David Nairn will be better able to inform you of the form then I can do.

For Mr. Secretary Harley.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

[1707, March 19.] Monday night at 11 [*endorsed by Harley as received* on March 24, 1707].—As to the matter of the ship *Worcester*, if a method can be found to make it be forgotten before next winter it is well, but whether any such can be found or not I think it was right to keep it out from this session till the Union was over.

As to the preparations making to carry goods to Scotland, however the lawyers may vapour in private, I should have been very sorry to have rested upon the expectation of any opinion from them in public so as not to have had a bill brought into Parliament concerning that affair. If the bill be either made insignificant or the matter be too difficult for the Parliament, yet when it is once laid before them and fairly stated to them, though no proper remedy is found, I don't well see how there can lie any just ground of clamour against the Queen or those who have the honour to serve her upon that account.

I hope they will endeavour to terrify people from attempting this practice from England and Ireland, but when all is done it is not in our power to prevent it from Holland.

I return your two letters from L and D[e] F[oe], what he says of Patterson I dare say is exactly true.

The wind seemed to be this evening southward of the east, which makes me hope it will not last forty-eight hours longer.

General James Stanhope to Earl Rivers.

1707, March [8-]19. Valencia.—In obedience to your Lordship's commands by Captain Humphries I have been with my Lord Galway who made not the least difficulty of complying with what your Lordship required, as you will see by the paper he sends back to you signed by himself and me. The paper your Lordship sent to me being likewise signed by us it remains with my Lord Galway; so that your Lordship need not be at the trouble of sending any other. I send your Lordship enclosed the copy of my last letter to the Earl of Sunderland by which you will see that I had already writ much to the same purpose, the latter part of that letter relates to the discourse I had with your Lordship concerning the papers shewed you by the Earl of P[eterborough] of which I had touched something in a former letter. So soon as I join the Court I will get that matter explained, and sent to England what particulars I shall learn.

I take the liberty your Lordship is pleased to allow me of troubling you with some letters for England whither I wish your Lordship a happy voyage.

The Same to the Same.

1707, March [9-]20. Valencia.—I have received the letters from England but have found none for your Lordship nor has my Lord Galway any in his packet. I do not pretend to tell your Lordship any news supposing that you have had it. All we have very material is the Union of Scotland which had passed the Commons upon a division of 211 against 105, and had had a second reading in your Lordship's House. There had been also a great division about continuing the Bank carried by a considerable majority.

My Lord Galway and I desire of your Lordship that if you are upon your departure your Lordship will stay twenty-four hours for our letters.

Duke of Marlborough to Robert Harley.

1707, March 28. Margett [Margate].—I have had the favour of your obliging letter of the 25th and am very much surprised at what you tell me of my journey, for nobody knows of it from me but the Pensioner of Holland. The wind continuing so very contrary makes me apprehend that I shall not have time to go to Saxony, but my first letters from Holland shall let you know the certainty, so that you may be the better able to give your orders to Mr. Robinson.

Duke of Marlborough to Robert Harley.

1707, March 31. Margett.—After having been seven leagues at sea yesterday, I was beaten back by a north-east wind, which still continues, so that my stay here is like to be some time longer. This, with what Mr. Stepney writes in his letter of my journey, makes me desirous you would advise with Lord Treasurer and know the Queen's pleasure, whether it might not be proper to defer no longer the acquainting Mr. Robinson with the resolution her Majesty had taken of sending me to the King of Sweden, but that she apprehends these contrary winds may make it impossible for me to go, so that he should lose no time in endeavouring to gain to her Majesty's interest the Count de Piper and those others by pension he has formerly mentioned in his letters, and that till he hears from me from the Hague, he should take no notice of my journey; and if I should not be able to come but send an officer to the King, that he should be assisting to him in the execution of such instructions as I shall give him at the Hague.

The Earl of Sunderland to Earl Rivers.

1707, April 1. Whitehall.—This is to acknowledge your Lordship's of the 22 Jan., o.s., from Gibraltar. I am very glad to hear your Lordship and the forces are landed safe at Alicant. We are very impatient till we hear directly from your Lordship, not being able to make any judgment of the affairs in Spain till then. As to what you mention concerning the remittances of money to you, my Lord Treasurer says that all care is taken that Mr. Morrice may supply you with it and in time. As for biscuit and provisions of that kind, a very great quantity was sent from hence, but those ships fell in unluckily with the Brest squadron, and most of them were taken. However, Mr. Morrice has bought up nine thousand sacks of wheat at Lisbon, to supply that loss, and I hope it will do it pretty effectually. As to what relates to the command, everything has been done that was possible to rectify the past disorders, as your Lordship by this time knows, and I hope to your satisfaction.

Postscript.—The King of Spain having represented to the Queen the great want his troops are in of arms, I am to acquaint your Lordship that it is her Majesty's pleasure that of the ten thousand you have with you whatever remain, that are not distributed among the Queen's own troops, you should give the rest to the troops of the King of Spain, and the value will be deducted out of the money given by the Parliament for that service.

Duke of Marlborough to [Robert Harley].

1707, April [5-]16. Hague.—The reception I have had and the assurances of esteem they have for her Majesty makes me hope my journey will be of some use. I hope to leave this place a Friday night, and the first day's rest I have you shall be sure to hear from your faithful friend and servant.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1707, April 11, Good Friday.—This is only to recommend the enclosed to your care, and to wonder we are so long without the Dutch letters, when the wind is so perfectly fair.

All the Scots will pour in upon us next week, I wish before they come we could pour out the English, and that I might go Monday to Newmarket; but be that as it will I should be glad you would call me by five upon Sunday, because I must speak to the Queen before Council.

[The Same to the Same.]

1707, April 15. Newmarket.—As soon as I waked this morning I received the favour of yours by the flying packet, but don't send back another with my answer, because I found by the label it was more than twelve hours upon the road, so I concluded it would but disturb you by coming at an unseasonable hour, and I have nothing to write to the Duke of M[arlborough] but what may go as well by Friday's post.

I return you his Grace's and Mr. Stepney's letters. You may please to let Mr. Stepney know, I will endeavour to remit the 70,000 crowns next week, but when I come to town I must also have the Queen's commands to do so signified by you, in pursuance of a treaty made to that effect.

I hope the million mentioned in yours is but a million of florins and not of pounds sterling.

The last lines of your letter are very obliging, nobody in the world is more truly sensible of your kindness nor more entirely your faithful humble servant, G.

[The Same to the Same.]

1707, April 17. Newmarket.—I give you many thanks for the favour of your letter and the votes of the House of Commons, by which I find they persist in their first thoughts of that matter, as I always believed they would; but though this be their unanimous sense and the sense of all England, yet if it be against the sense of Scotland and contrary to the apprehension of the Treaty, I doubt it may bring a very great difficulty at this time upon the Queen.

You were in the right certainly not to be at the head of this thing, and perhaps your appearing in it before has been the occasion of all this broil; but more of that when I see you, which I hope may be Sunday at five or six, if you please to call upon your humble servant.

General Thomas Erle to Earl Rivers.

1707, April [17-]28. Alcira near Valentia.—Ever since I had the misfortune to part from you it has been a continual series of misfortunes to me. The troops that came with you have had no rest, instead of a march that I could have made in one day to

have joined the army, which I proposed, I was ordered five days' march over such precipices as are about Alcoy, by which I lost above 500 men. When I joined we made a march to Yecla, from whence the Duke of Berwick retired, as he did from Mont Alegro, not having then assembled his troops, but we gave him time to do it with a witness by amusing ourselves five days about taking the foolish castle of Villena, which noble siege we were forced to raise because the Portuguese train had not materials to take it; but it was thought then it would be no disgrace because we resolved to march directly and fight the enemy, which I own that all the Generals were unanimously for; but it seems we had little intelligence of their strength till two young French officers that came to us the day before the battle and gave us an account they were fifty-eight battalions, of which thirty four were French, and one hundred odd squadrons, which proved too true, but then it was too late to avoid fighting: the consequence was we were entirely beaten, which we should have been had their numbers been less by the ill execution of the disposition we made to attack them and by the worse behaviour of the Portuguese horse, which was the greatest part of our cavalry. All our infantry broke to pieces, and all my friends and companions that come over with you are either killed or taken prisoners. I wish with all my heart I had gone with them. I cannot give you an exact account of particulars, but we hear that Count Dona, Shrimpton, Macartney and Briton made a brave retreat, after being abandoned by all the horse, to the mountains, where they were obliged to surrender themselves as prisoners of war. My own escape was next to a miracle, Charley Dormer, Roper, Jo. Lawrence, we are sure, are killed. God knows what is become of poor Jack Hill and Kirke as yet. I looked upon myself as a sacrifice when I resolved to stay behind your Lordship, for I will appeal to yourself what opinion I had of the management I should be under here, I am now confirmed in that opinion. Judge of our circumstances, and you will think I am like to be so. We are now here with about 800 English and Dutch horse, and above, as they say, 2,000 Portuguese that are not to be depended on, with which we pretend to make our way to Cortosa, above 30 Spanish leagues, if we can, and a victorious army that has 10,000 horse in it will give us leave. God knows whether I shall write to you any more.

Postscript.—I send this to your mich (?) to Alicant and it will be under cover of Mr. St. Johns, who I desire may see this for I have not time to write particulars to him.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1707, April 22.—I called at your office about eight this evening to have told you what I had several times forgotten to do, viz., that I had no objections to what the Duke of Marlborough seems to desire so earnestly in behalf of the Muscovite ambassador, about the Queen's allowing him a house, except the precedent of

it; and since he thinks it may be of use to gratify him in this request I can submit to his judgment, though it does not agree with my own.

I hear some of the Scots are very warm against the bills depending in the House of Lords, and talk of making a representation against it to the Queen. I have told those who mentioned it to me very plainly that I thought it would be very undesirable for them to meddle at all with what our Parliament was doing, and I hope they will have patience at least till after to-morrow.

The Queen seems very impatient to have an end, and to put out the proclamation for declaring that this Parliament shall be the first Parliament of Great Britain.

My Lord Seafield seems to have a mind the proclamation should bear date upon the first of May, and that then in the same proclamation the Queen might also approve the choice made by the Parliament of Scotland of their representatives; but this does not seem consistent with my Lord Keeper's notion of dropping our English Parliament before the first of May.

I foresee a thousand difficulties and inconveniences during this whole summer, and perhaps longer, of making the management of the revenues of that Kingdom but tolerably practicable.

Why might there not be a particular Committee of Council appointed to consider how the government of Scotland shall be carried on till the Parliament of Great Britain shall otherwise provide?

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

[1707, April] 25. Friday at five.—If I had known you had had the least concern for this Welsh judge or any other, nobody could ever have persuaded me to open my lips in it, but the truth of this case is that before my Lord Manchester went away he made it his earnest request that Mr. Pocklington might be made a Welsh judge before the first of May, upon which I spoke to the Queen, and to my Lord Keeper, who alone can change this, and I hope he will if you say as much to him as you have done to me. There are some of these judges for whom nobody will be much concerned.

The Earl of Sunderland to Earl Rivers.

1707, May 6. Whitehall.—Her Majesty having been informed by my Lord Treasurer of your Lordship's readiness to comply with her desires, that you should return again to Spain, has commanded me to assure you that she takes it as the greatest mark that is possible of your zeal for her service, and that as she thinks it absolutely necessary for the public service that you should undertake this journey, so you may depend upon everything being done, that may make you easy in it. The Queen has ordered the Lords to meet at Mr. Secretary Harley's office on Thursday morning at eleven o'clock, where they beg your Lordship would meet them, to have your opinion and

advice, and to settle and agree upon the instructions to be given you, and whatever else shall be judged necessary upon this occasion.

Lord Coningsby to Earl Rivers.

1707, May 12.—I yesterday delivered your Lordship's letter with the commands you gave me by word of mouth to my Lord Treasurer, who this morning was pleased to tell me he had laid them before the Queen, and that her Majesty being apprehensive of so long a negotiation as your Lordship's demands seemed to require, had resolved to send away immediately expresses both by sea and land to the King of Spain with such despatches as were most requisite to help the present exigencies; and as she does not intend to send any others till there came news more to be depended on from thence than any we have hitherto received, your Lordship would have more time to recover your health and to consider, when there shall be greater certainty, whether it will suit with your affairs to undertake this expedition.

Postscript.—My Lord Treasurer commands me to give his service to your Lordship.

H. S[t. John] to [Robert Harley].

1707, May 13. Whitehall.—When I heard to-day at the Cockpit that Pepper was the man pitched upon to go express to the King of Spain I imagined you did not know how scandalously he procured this year a commission of brigadier by imposing a false date of his colonel's commission on the Duke of Marlborough. The thing deserved cashiering, and he seems to have a mark of favour conferred upon him.

Good night! I have writ to you concerning a demand of marines from the Admiralty.

The Same to the Same.

1707, May 13. Whitehall.—The Admiralty require the usual number of marines to be immediately sent on board the several ships in the margin [*Albemarle*, *Ramillies*, *Hampshire*, *Dover*, *Pool*, *Northumberland*, *Canterbury*, *Devonshire*, *Mary*, and *Defiance*, 550 men]. This will prevent the sending such a number with the squadron designed for Spain as may furnish a battalion to join the troops which are to land there, unless these ships are to be of that squadron. Orders are given for recruiting the marine regiments, but the raising of them is not to be relied on. *Signed.*

The Duke of Marlborough to [Robert Harley].

1707, [May 22-]June 2.—I have hitherto given you no trouble but by my letters of form. The apprehensions in Holland of the French being stronger than we will I am afraid make them so cautious that it may give me great trouble, and then you as a friend must be troubled, for I can't open myself to many. It is

true that by the treaty the French have made this winter in Italy they have been able to strengthen their army to that degree that they have thirty squadrons, and twenty-four battalions, more than we. However, I am verily persuaded with the blessing of God we should beat them, which would put a happy end to this troublesome war, of which your humble servant is very weary.

The Duke of Marlborough to [Earl Rivers].

1707, [May 26-] June 6. Meldert.—I have had the honour of yours by Captain Terill, and I should have been extreme glad I could have been so happy as to have seen you, so that I might have been the better able to have known in what I might have been useful to his Majesty. If I could be of any use I am sure my heart is sincerely his. His letter is so just and kind to you that I hope you will excuse my sending the enclosed copy.

The late treaty in Italy has so far enabled the King [of] France to draw troops from thence, that he has now a superiority over us in this country that, joined with the necessity we lie under of covering Brussels and the other great towns, hinders us from giving Monsieur Vandome that uneasiness we might otherways do. Our army is in good heart and good condition, so that for the public good it were to be wished we could meet upon equal terms.

You say nothing to me of your returning to Spain, but as I see by the King's letter it is what he much desires, if it be not uneasy to yourself I should think you might do good service. Where'er you are I wish you happiness, and desire you will believe me what I am with truth, Your, &c.

The Duke of Marlborough to [Robert Harley].

1707, June 5-16.—I have sent the Queen's letter to the King of Sweden. I do hope it may do good, but it is certain the Emperor's behaviour is unaccountable; the warrant for the 10,000 arms were ordered to be bought in Holland upon the desire of the Duke of Ormond and Lieutenant-General Ingolsby. The warrant should have been signed at the same time. You will be pleased to let it be signed, and I promise you hereafter to take the best care I can that there may be no more leave given.

I shall be very uneasy till I hear the Duke of Savoy is in Provence, for if the Emperor should spoil that project this campaign must go wrong, for our friends will not venture, unless we have an advantage, which our enemies will be careful not to give.

[Lord Godolphin] to Secretary Harley.

[1707, June] 14, Saturday at noon.—Finding by the Bishop of Winchester [Trelawney] this morning that he goes for Windsor to-morrow to do his homage after chapel, and knowing so much of my Lord Sunderland's mind in that matter, that in case you are

not there it is probable the Bishop may be disappointed, which would make a great deal of noise and uneasiness, it is my humble request that you would be at Windsor to-morrow, letters or no letters, since otherwise I find something will happen which may be shocking and uneasy to the Queen.

I can take care to get you a lodging.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1707, June [16 received]. Meldert.—I give you the trouble of so many copies of letters by this post, that I would not trouble you with this, but for an expression in yours of the 6th saying you will not trouble me with home affairs since you must have them from others. I do assure you from none that I so willingly would hear, as from yourself, so that I conjure you as a friend that whenever you think there is anything in which her Majesty's service is concerned that you would let me know it.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1707, June 17. Windsor.—I give you many thanks for the honour of yours and the papers enclosed, which I have had the honour to read to the Queen. Her Majesty continues to leave it to the Duke of Marlborough to direct the Saxons' march as he thinks best, as also to do what he thinks most proper upon the French proposal for the exchange of prisoners.

I agree with you that no time must be lost in adjusting with the Imperial Court the number of troops they will send to Spain, and the terms of their being sent. Upon these points I think the Comte de Gallas should be spoken to, and Sir Ph. Meadows instructed by this post. The Duke of Marlborough is certainly right in his advice to offer them subsidies for their better support, but not to charge the Queen with the entire payment of these troops; but I think he is not in the right to defer this treaty till September, since as you observe 'twill then be too late for our fleet to receive orders for their assisting in that matter. And by the way I think it will now be time to think what orders, or at least suggestions, ought to be sent to Sir Cl. Shovell, in case either of succeeding or miscarrying at Toulon, for it is probable that matter will be determined one way or other by the time that such orders can reach him. In the mean time I was glad to find in some of the French letters that our fleet had been from Monaco.

I think the Elector of Hanover is in the wrong to decline the command of the army on the Rhine, for his own interest as well as for that of the common cause. Is it yet too late to offer it to the Landgrave of Hesse? Why should not you hint that to Sir Ph. Meadows?

I wish the zeal in which my Lord Raby describes the King of Prussia may continue as warm after he hears of the death of the Duchess of Nemours, but I can't be without my apprehensions it may put him upon measures that may prove inconvenient to the Allies.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1707, June 19. Windsor.—I have this morning received a letter from my Lord Chancellor by which I find the Chief Justices have condemned me, and that I must prepare very soon for my execution.*

I beg leave to desire your favour of sending my answer to my Lord Chancellor, which is chiefly to prepare him for the trouble, Sunday or Monday, of hearing the objection of the Prince's Council against the expedient proposed of leaving out of His Royal Highness's new commission the clause relating to their salaries. They seem to think it will not afford them the least shelter in the House of Commons, against the objection of their having accepted a new office. All I could say to them was I would beg of my Lord Chancellor and of Mr. Attorney to hear them Monday next after Council, and I believe they would be glad if you and I were there at the same time.

The wind here seems fair enough this morning for us to hope we may have the foreign letters to-morrow.

[The Same to the Same.]

1707, June 20. Windsor.—I have received the favour of your long letter, and I assure you it is always a satisfaction to me to find at the opening of it that it is a long letter. Much will require to be thought upon the main subject of it, but I shall reserve that point till Sunday night for a walk upon the Green.

I return you my Lord Poulett's letter without knowing very clearly what he would have done for Mr. Wood; but if you can make me know it I believe at this time either you or I can make the Bishop [Trelawney] do anything. I had last night a letter from his Lordship to acquaint me, my directions, as he called it, would be necessary to you for the restitution of his temporalities; he desires to have them from the death of Bishop Mew. The Queen consents to it, and I always think 'tis best not to oblige a man by halves; if afterwards they won't make a right return of it, let them answer for that.

I have had so many papers to day from the Treasury to read that I have not had time for your Scot's letter. What you say of Mr. Scot is extraordinary and worth tracing as far as it can go.

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*An undated paper among Godolphin's letters at Longleat throws some light on this paragraph. The first sentence of it is in Harley's handwriting. and runs thus:—

I cannot find any reason why your Lordship is so much urged to be Treasurer of Great Britain, when I found yesterday both the Chief Justices are of your Lordship's opinion that it is not necessary, and so is the Attorney.

Below this Godolphin has written:—If the two Chief Justices are of that opinion, they will say so to my Lord Chancellor, and then there is an end of it.

To this Harley replies:—The two Chief Justices are now pressed to be of another opinion, and declare themselves for the necessity. If the Attorney spake with them first, and took their opinion, then they would be better prepared to discourse it with Lord Chancellor and the Chief Baron all together.

Godolphin adds:—I hope the Attorney will speak to them as soon as he can.

My brother [Henry] sent me word from Eton yesterday that the Dean of St. Paul's [Sherlock] was dead; the Queen gives the deanery to him, and his prebendary to the Duke of Marlborough's chaplain, Mr. Hare.

Earl Rivers to the Duke of Marlborough.

1707, June 27.—I had acknowledged the honour of your Grace's letter before, had I known what to have said on the subject of my returning to Spain, and I am still in the dark of what is intended. I shall be ready to do the best service I can whenever her Majesty commands me. I own I thought it unreasonable to be sent away without any troops, only of a message to the King of Spain with assurances of speedy succours, and I did complain that I was always the worse in point of my fortune for any service I have been employed in, not being used as Lord Galway and others have been; if these are crimes to be laid aside for, I am contented.

I have given my Lord Treasurer the best light I can both as to the affairs of Spain and Portugal. I did not expect such a fatal blow, but I saw plainly nothing could be done to our advantage. If I have been too plain 'twas by the King of Spain's order and I don't repent it. 'Tis impossible to write what I could say to your Grace if I had had the good fortune to have met you, and I flatter myself you would have thought it of some weight, though some of my friends, as they are called, cannot think so hard of one of them in Spain. This I can assure you that the King of Spain is so well satisfied of his infidelity that he will never trust his person with him if he can avoid it, and he has told me of so many odd circumstances that I can't blame him. If they would send five or six battalions immediately to Catalonia till more troops can be ordered, it may happen to be the saving of the kingdom: for those projects of sending troops from Naples and the palatines from Savoy may meet with such difficulties that Catalonia may be lost for want of such a number for the present as I mention. As for Portugal expect nothing from thence but the loss of the troops you send. This is so difficult a point that I can't tell what to say upon it, for if you send none they may take that pretence of making peace with France, but be assured that if they dare do it with safety and to their own advantage nothing that you can send them will hinder it. I hope let what will happen I shall have your protection, for I can safely say you don't wish yourself more happiness and better success than, &c.

Copy in Lord Rivers' handwriting.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1707, June 27. Windsor.—Comte Briançon having acquainted me yesterday that the Palatine recruits going to Italy had been detained by the Governor of Bavaria as needing them there, I desired him to speak to you of it, looking upon it indeed to be a matter of fresh occasion of complaint, and that Sir Philip

Meadows ought to have directions upon it by this post. These Palatines are the troops which, after the Duke of Savoy's expedition, I find the Duke of Marlborough thinks the most proper to be sent to Spain. When does Zinzeling go?

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1707, July 4. Windsor.—I hear the wind so strong in my windows here that I have no hope you can have any foreign letters at London, unless from Lisbon, which will not bring much when they do come. However I believe the Queen will expect you here on Sunday, and that before that time there will be some business to be done.

[The Same to the Same.]

1707, August 7. Windsor.—I have the favour of yours with the enclosed from D[e] F[oe], in which he tells me he will write more fully to you by the next post, so I think it will be best not to make any answer till you have that letter and I have seen you, as I hope I shall upon Sunday.

I have read to the Queen what passed betwixt you and Mr. Schultz relating to Mr. Sc[ott].

What you write of Mr. Stepney gives me a great deal of concern. I think he ought to have immediate leave to come over, if his strength will allow him to make use of it; but how to supply his station I own myself wholly at a loss.

After all the care that was taken of the outward bound Russia fleet, I am sorry to hear so ill news of them, their being taken at so very great a distance gives shrewd suspicions they had intelligence of our intentions.

[The Same to the Same.]

1707, August 14. Windsor.—I return the letters you sent by the messenger yesterday.

By those from the Duke of Marlborough the French have escaped his hand very narrowly; and now, I doubt they will come no more in his reach.

Whatever the French brag of their preparations to drive home the Duke of Savoy I cannot but hope and think that affair will succeed; and I am very glad to find by Sir Ph. Meadows there is some hopes of troops from Naples for the strengthening of his arms, which is of as much use to us as if they were in Catalonia.

The news from Leipzic is not so bad as I expected, for since the negotiations are still continued hostilities will hardly be begun on that side before winter, which is a great point if it be gained.

The Queen sees no reason to refuse the French prisoners any of their requests mentioned in yours. I shall send Mr. Taylour to you for your directions concerning their plate.

I don't like D[e] F[oe]'s letter, but I have often observed that he gives you the worst side of the picture.

My Lord Peterborough has written to my Lord Sunderland for a convoy. Before that be sent for him the Queen thinks the Cabinet council ought to consider and agree in what manner he is to be treated at his arrival.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1707, August [18-]29.—I am obliged to you for the copy of the Electress's letter, it does not become me to contradict what her Electoral Highness says, but I hope her Majesty will let Monsieur de Shutes have for answer, that till she has satisfaction of the dispute concerning Monsieur Blanzac, and other French officers, she has taken a resolution of giving no further leaves; besides Sieur de Lassey has been two years in France.

I shall take care to exchange Macartney as soon as possible, but it must not be for Plessis Chatillon, for we must break the French of that arbitrary way of imposing upon us, in all the exchanges they make. I am afraid neither the business of Toulon, nor that of the King of Sweden, goes as were to be wished.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1707, August 21. Windsor.—I am sorry I can't look upon the French news of retaking St. Catherine's as a slight thing; I am afraid of the consequences of it, though I find the Hague letters don't set much weight upon it.

The news from Vienna is very good, and from Leipzic not so bad as I think might have been expected.

In case my Lord Peterborough comes to you in my Lord Sunderland's absence, the Queen would have him told it is expected he should attend her Majesty and the Cabinet council, with the reasons which induced him to quit the army in Spain and go to the Duke of Savoy, without order or leave upon that occasion, though in case any forces had been sent thither he had indeed leave to command those forces.

As to Mr. Scott, her Majesty approves of your speaking upon that matter to Monsieur Schultz, as you propose in your letter.

H. ST. JOHN to SECRETARY HARLEY.

1707, August 27. Whitehall.—I have received your letter of this day's date, intimating the consternation the people of Harwich have been in upon an appearance of some French ships, together with a postscript of the Mayor's letter concerning the ill condition that Landguard Fort is in, there being but one company of foot there, and the walls down and not capable of defence. In answer to which I am to acquaint you that the large detachments that have been made from the forces in England for service abroad have reduced all the garrisons to the lowest complement of men; and till the six regiments which were lately reduced in Spain and are returned home have recruited again

it is not practicable to reinforce any of the garrisons, which will be done as soon as possible. And as for the condition which the walls of Landguard Fort are in for defence, the Board of Ordnance have the care of those matters. *Signed.*

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1707 [August] 27, Wednesday. Winchendon.—The news of Toulon is extremely dejecting, and I dread the consequences of it, abroad immediately and at home in the winter, if we do not heartily unite ourselves to struggle with the difficulties of both. I will do my part for one.

I do not trouble you with what I wish might be written by Friday's post, because I design to see you at London before it goes, and to return this night to Windsor; and I will carry the letters with me to the Queen.

Duke of Marlborough to [Robert Harley].

1707, September [1-]12, n.s.—I do entirely agree that something more should have been done then only sending Mr. Scott back to Hanover, for I think his proceeding ought to have been more publicly known, to have been disavowed by the Elector. You will certainly do good service to the Queen in finding the agent you mention, who solicits a pension; they live so much within their own revenue, that I think it must appear extravagant, to expect a pension from England, when we are at so vast an expense for this war. Now that the King of Sweden is agreed with the Emperor, I beg for the service of her Majesty, and the common cause, that you will be watchful, that nothing be done with the Moscovite Ambassador that may give offence to the Swedes.

I believe one of the reasons of the French having taken the the resolution of venturing nothing in this country, proceeds from the encouragement they have from some of their friends in Holland that there may be a peace before the next campaign, which I think is not possible, if we will have a good one.

[Robert Harley to Lord Godolphin.]

1707, September 2.—I desire your lordship will permit me to trouble you in this letter with what I did intend to have spoken to your lordship more at large if I had met with a proper opportunity at Windsor. I am very sensible of the difficulties which, for one reason and for another, are like to attend public affairs next winter, it would be very impertinent in me to trouble your lordship with my poor thought of the true occasions of them, I am sanguine enough to think I see beyond them, but that is not my business. I desire only to assure your lordship most sincerely, that I am resolved to do everything to the utmost of my power (if required) to make the Queen's service and her ministers' easy, and I will be under your lordship's directions and be active or passive, to do anything or nothing, to meddle with business or to let it alone, as your lordship shall think best and shall be pleased to let me know your pleasure.

Copy.

LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.

1707, September 4. Windsor.—I return your letters from Mr. Morice and Sir Tho. Frankland. We can expect nothing good from Portugal, however we must try to keep up their hearts and preserve them in our alliance. Mr. Morice's observation is right that though our expense has been great in Portugal, the advantage to our trade from thence does overbalance it.

The French ships mentioned in Sir Tho. Frankland's letter must be those outward bound to the South Sea; 'tis much too late for anything from hence to intercept them. Sir Thomas Hardy has a chance for meeting with them, but 'tis ten thousand to one. I hope you will not find Mr. Stepney irrecoverable, he will be wanted now every day more than ever.

[LORD GODOLPHIN to ROBERT HARLEY.]

1707, September 9. Windsor.—I beg the favour of you to send my letter to Mr. Methuen by this night's post to Lisbon. 'Tis in answer to a very reasonable one which I received from him since I saw you, and goes herewith enclosed.

I don't think my Lord Galway will care to stay in Portugal, though I much wish it as best for the service.

I can't forbear adding upon this occasion that if we who have the honour to serve the best Queen in the world can't agree upon the proper measures for her service at home, whatever we do abroad will signify very little.

[ROBERT HARLEY to LORD GODOLPHIN.]

1707, September 10.—As to the last paragraph of your lordship's letter, I crave leave to profess to you most solemnly, that I have made it my study to serve the Queen upon an honest principle, that I have no attachment to any other person in the world but your lordship and the Duke of Marlborough. I know of no enemies I have but such as either have expressed themselves with equal bitterness against both your lordships upon many occasions, or are so to me because of my adherence to you. I am too well acquainted with the practices of a sort of people who wound those they do not like in the dark, and by whispers and secret misrepresentations would ruin the reputation of any one they do not fancy. I know your lordship is too just to admit any insinuations of that kind, and I am so little fond of standing in any one's way, that any endeavours of that sort give me no disquiet, because I depend upon your lordship's goodness to let me know when I am thought a burden to the service, or uneasy to anyone, and the least hint of that nature shall meet with a very ready and cheerful compliance in me by a willing retreat.

As to joining in measures, it has been my endeavour to give demonstrations that I have been very far from being pertinacious in my own opinion. I am not fond of giving it, and am no ways concerned if it do not take. I had much rather be

directed than not, and shall never be inquisitive to know anything but how to do my duty. It has been always my temper to go along with the company and not to give them uneasiness; if they should say Harrow on the Hill or by Maidenhead were the nearest way to Windsor, I would go with them and never dispute it if that would give content, and that I might not be forced to swear it was so.

I am very sincere, and find in what I told your lordship in my former upon this subject that I had been and would be entirely under your direction, and whatever is insinuated to the contrary, I never have acted upon any other foot. I am satisfied to a demonstration there can be no other centre of union but the Queen, by the ministration of your lordship and the Duke of Marlborough; and there the bulk of the nation will fix themselves if they may be suffered, all other expedients are very wretched things and will end but very ill; and I dread the thoughts of running from the extreme of one faction to another which is the natural consequence of party tyranny, and renders the government like a door which turns both ways upon its hinges to let in each party as it grows triumphant, and in truth this is the real parent and nurse of our factions here. It is time to relieve your lordship's patience and beg pardon for this tedious letter and withal to desire leave to assure your lordship that you have not a more faithful servant nor a truer nor more zealous friend in the world than myself, to the utmost of my capacity.

Copy.

Duke of Marlborough to [Robert Harley].

1707, September [11-]22, n.s.—You know better than anybody the great advantage it must give France if any pretence whatsoever should bring the King of Sweden again into Germany, and you may be sure the Moscovite will print the Queen's answer, as they have already the Czar's letter.

I have writ to Lord Treasurer to know if he has anybody in his thoughts to fill Mr. Stepney's employment if he should die. I hope you will agree on such a one as may be able not only to help but direct me, for in this country all things are in great confusion. You say nothing to me of the approaching Parliament, I pray God our ill success abroad may not have an influence on the Queen's affairs at home.

Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.

1707, [September] 11, Thursday.—I ought to return you a great many thanks for the favour of your letter but have not time to do it now and must therefore beg to defer particulars till I see you, being sensible I have already detained your messenger too long.

Not coming to town this week I hope my Lord Sund[erland] and you will cause extracts to be made of the material points of Lord Peterborough's instructions which may be considered scandals at the Cabinet Council, half-an-hour before the Queen comes in, and made ready for her commands.

[Robert Harley to Lord Godolphin.]

1707, September 17.—I am now sensible how much too far my zeal for your service hath carried me formerly to trouble your lordship with tedious letters. I will offend no more in that kind. If you will please to add this fault to my other errors, for I cannot forbear just telling your lordship how uneasy I am under the charge of doing anything against your interest. I was provided against any other attacks, but this strikes me in a most sensible part, and in fact of which both friends and enemies will acquit me. However I must arm myself with patience, a little time will clear me from this aspersion; and I learn this, that it is no more in a man's power to devise the methods by which he is to be put out, than it is to foresee how he is to come on. I have done with that, but it is a justice save to myself to let your lordship know I have told you nothing but truth. I scorn to deny anything I have done, and if I had ever directly or indirectly, by myself or any other, recommended those two persons [ ], I am not so mean as to deny it, which I solemnly do.

I have no more to add but most hearty wishes for your lordship's prosperity and success. You can never have a more sincere friend and servant, though I am deemed now unprofitable and useless.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1707, September 18. Windsor.—I received last night the enclosed letters from Scotland, which upon reading to the Queen she commanded me to send to you that you might let my Lord Seafield know this night whether you can enable him by any informations from hence to detain Robert Murray, of which he himself seems to be in doubt, and to wish much for a speedy answer. I shall therefore write two or three words to him and put my letter into Sir David Nairne's hands, who is now here, referring him to you for such lights as you are able to give him as to the practices of Robert Murray; but I look upon John Murray, often named in Frasier's plot, to be much the more obnoxious man.

The Queen remembers her promise to the Bishop of Rochester [Sprat], that his brother in law should have the first vacant prebendary of Westminster. The death of Mr. Upman, one of the fellows of Eton College, brings that matter to bear just now.

I had written thus far before I received the favour of your letter, with the papers enclosed. The Queen being gone abroad to finish this year's hunting, I can't send you her commands upon the particulars till to-morrow. There can be no doubt but she will leave it to my Lord Lieutenant to give the orders he proposes about the horse and dragoons.

As to Mr. Vrybergh's memorial I believe the Queen will like very well that part of it which leaves the direction of the succours for Catalonia to the Duke of Marlborough; but I don't know very

well what construction to make of the latter part of it. Would he expect an account from the Queen, or a direction from her Admiral, what quantity of corn shall be put on board for the support of those troops? Her Majesty's part in this matter has been to press the Emperor and the Allies with all earnestness to send succours to the King of Spain while the fleet is in those seas to transport them. We can't well imagine that any general or admiral will embark any great number of troops without making the necessary provisions for their voyage.

I may take this wrong, and perhaps it is only my jealousy that they have a mind to create delay.

The concern you express in the close of your letter is very agreeable, and but due to what you could not but observe in me. I never had, nor ever can have, a thought of your being out of the Queen's service while I am in it; but I am as sure I neither desire nor am able to continue in it, unless we can agree upon the measures by which she is to be served both at home and abroad.

I hope therefore you will give me an opportunity of speaking thoroughly to you upon these two heads when you come hither next, which I believe the Queen will expect upon Sunday as usually, for she has made me write by this messenger to my Lord Sunderland to bring with him the extracts of Lord Peterborough's instructions, that he and you and I might collect some particulars to be sent to him.

Duke of Marlborough to [Robert Harley].

1707, September [18-]29, n.s. Helchin.—I had not time by the last post to thank you for yours of 9th. I agree entirely with you, if the pension be desired, it must be disapproved by all sorts of men.

What the Pensioner has writ to Monsieur Vryberge may prove very troublesome, for Ostend is what I think no good Englishman can consent to; and if they pretend to be angry with the treaty of commerce concluded with King Charles, and at the same time pretend they are not in a condition to go on with the war, is in my opinion very near declaring they must be contented with any peace, which at this time would be fatal, for I think we have nothing left to bring France to reason, but by taking such measures this winter, as may enable us to act with vigour the next campaign. For my own part I own to you, that I am quite weary, for if the Dutch would have pleased we might have had a battle the beginning of this campaign, which we might have given with much more advantage than I am afraid we shall in the next, for I believe it is both the interest and intentions of the French to be very strong in this country this next year; their good success in Spain will enable them to do it. Though I have this service at heart, yet not so much as that of yours and Lord Treasurer's being of one mind, as to what is best for the carrying on the Queen's service.

[Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

1707, September 25. St. James's.—Yesterday at my return from Windsor, I found the favour of your letter, for which I give you a great many thanks, and have not the least doubt but that you sincerely intend all you say to me in it. But I still think, as I said to you at parting, there will be a necessity of your being here at the Duke of Marlborough's coming over, which I have very earnestly desired him may be before the meeting of the Parliament at least four or five days.

I acquainted the Queen yesterday with the substance of your foreign letters, and left with her the draught of the letter you had prepared to be written with her own hand to the Elector of Hanover.

Upon considering this afternoon at the Treasury the letter you sent me with the papers enclosed about the 4,000*l.* per annum to be paid to Prince Charles of Denmark there appears to be a difficulty in pursuing exactly the agreement made by Mr. Pulteney which imports that he should have a patent for it during his life under the great seal. Now the Queen cannot grant a pension beyond the term of her own life. Whether they will be satisfied in Denmark to have it as the Queen can grant it, or whether the Parliament when they meet will be so easy as to supply that defect of her Majesty's power, I must submit to better judgments, but I reckon this difficulty will keep the matter in suspense till you return.

There seemed hardly anything in your foreign letters worth taking notice of, except the last line in Mr. Robinson's, viz., that the Swedes had quitted Silesia. That being put together with the decyphered letters looks as if a new scene were going to open in those parts of the world, and if the Czar can slip Prince Ragotsky into King Augustus's place, they two will maintain the contest for Poland against the King of Sweden and Stanislaus. All this may be without much affecting our war, unless the Turk takes the advantage, when Muscovy and Poland can give him no diversion, to fall upon the Emperor and the Venetians.

I am sorry you have such terrible ill weather for your journey, it will make the country not pleasant to stay in, nor easy to get out of; but 'tis always your (lot?), you forbear to go into the country as long as ever you can, and then go so late that the rains force you to stay in it longer than you would. I take notice of this, that if you don't come back in time you may find some other excuse.

The two East India companies have been with me to thank me for my good offices, and to confirm their union.

Duke of Marlborough to [Robert Harley].

1707 [September 27-]October 7, n.s. Hague.—I am very much obliged to you for yours of the 16th and I beg you will do me the justice to believe I am sincerely yours, and that I am sorry from my heart that you have any reason given you to be uneasy.

The Elector of Hanover desiring to take measures with me for the next campaign, they are desirous here that I would give myself the trouble of going to Mayence or Frankfort, where the Elector offers to meet me. I shall begin my journey to-morrow se'nnight, for by that time I shall have marched the army to the camp, where I intend they shall stay till my return, which will be about the 28th of this month. In a few days after my return I shall send the troops to their several garrisons, so that I hope to have the happiness of being with you by the first week in November.

Endorsed by Harley:—"R[eceived] at Brampton, Oct. 3, 7 days. Answered."

Robert Harley to [the Duke of Marlborough].

1707, October 16. Brampton Castle.—I received at this place the honour of your Grace's letter of October 7 [N.S.], and I hope this will meet your Grace safely returned from your tedious journey into Germany, as you spare no pains nor hazard for the public, so your Grace has the advantage of a superior genius both in council and action, which has so often been auspicious to these kingdoms and the liberty of Europe.

As to what your Grace is pleased to express relating to myself, I own it as a very great favour, and I can most sincerely assure your Grace that I value myself upon my attachment to your Grace, and being your servant, I am very far from being uneasy upon my own account, nothing makes me so but to see those persons uneasy, to whose quiet I would sacrifice all I have, and for whose service I would do the utmost in my power, and yet to be misrepresented to them is very hard for flesh and blood to bear. But I was provided for it, for your Grace will remember that I did foretell all this a year ago, and it was natural to expect to be misrepresented by those who had no other way of doing me a mischief, and I have not wanted sufficient warning that I was to be torn from Lord Treasurer. When your Grace comes over I doubt not but you will be truly informed of things and persons, because it is of the last consequence to know the true state of the factions here, and the humours which are prevalent, for the thread seems to be run out to the bottom, and a few months hence will unavoidably require some more your usual care to be taken. I have so far foreseen the storm as to myself that I have used the greatest caution not to converse with any one either at home or abroad who are not entirely believed to be in the modern measures, and in the little time I have to last I shall omit nothing to make every one easy, and to do my utmost to serve them in their own way. I humbly beseech your Grace to pardon the freedom in me.*

Copy.

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* The copy preserved of this letter is bound up in Vol. X. of the Harley or Portland series of papers at Longleat, which contains miscellaneous correspondence of the Harley family; but in Vol. V. of that series, which contains copies chiefly of

[The Earl of Godolphin] to Secretary Harley.

1707, October 23. Thursday night.—When I sent to you to-day to desire I might speak with you at my house to-morrow in the afternoon, I did not reflect that it was post day, and shall be glad therefore, if you please, that I may have leave to come to you in the evening at your office, because I have some things to say which relate chiefly to your foreign letters. 'Tis true, the affairs at home would require a good deal to be said upon them, if talking would mend them; but I find they must go as they will, and I can do no more than I have done.

At back of this letter Harley has written what seems to be a copy of part of his reply to it. It runs :—"As to home affairs the little experience I have had inclines me to think that they never succeed so well as when they are directed. The people will follow somebody, and if your lordship will not think fit to explain your own thoughts, others will make use of your authority. It may not be much to your satisfaction whenever your lordship thinks fit to let me know anything of what you judge proper to be done. I will not be wanting in my duty to tell your lordship my poor opinion, and to act according to the best of my understanding."

The Duke of Marlborough to Robert Harley.

1707, [October 29-]November 8. Hague.—I have had the favour of yours of the 24th and am extreme glad to find you are returned to London, where I am sure your presence must be of use to her Majesty. I was in hopes to have been at sea this night, but it blows so very hard, and the wind so contrary, that there is no

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Harley's letters to Marlborough, is a paper in Harley's handwriting, and endorsed by him :—"Draught to D. of M., Oct. 3, 1707, never sent." The letter printed in the text was apparently written in the place of it some days afterwards, but this draught is worth printing in illustration of the writer's character. It runs :—

1707, October 3-14. Brampton.—I received at this place this morning the honour of your Grace's letter from the Hague of October 7. I am extremely obliged to your Grace that you think me worth casting away so much concern upon as you are pleased to express : I can only say this, I have endeavoured to improve every opportunity to show myself zealous for your service, and that this is true all sides know, who also will not be ignorant of the reason of my persecution.

I would not trouble your Grace again upon so impertinent a subject as myself, but that I must understand your Grace's letter, that you thought I was uneasy. I beg your Grace not to believe it, for the scope of my letter was to show your Grace that the uneasiness of other persons would not, could not, should not, make me uneasy ; I have no (other?) aims but to do my duty. I have nothing to get, and am not willing to lose the being a friend and servant to your Grace and Lord Treasurer. I have not intermeddled with anything. I have not solicited for nor against any person, I know nothing wherein I am a grievance but that I have two eyes, and yet I wink as hard as anybody. But the uneasinesses proceed from another cause, though I am to bear the burden, but as soon as I am gone depend upon it, my Lord, the stream will run too high to be stemmed, and there are not (whatever may be pretended) heads of either party who are able to govern them.

I heartily desire you would take care to have a true account of the temper of all sorts in England, and the opinions and notions they have fixed both as to affairs at home and abroad : and I wish that it do not prove that embracing some persons close and making others desperate do not end in truth in holding a handful of sand, the harder it is squeezed, the less it is and slips through your fingers.

getting to sea, but my servants are on board the yachts, so that I shall make use of the first favourable minute, being very desirous of being with you, for I long to have one hour in which I may speak freely to you.

Capt. John Ogilvie (*signed* "Jean Gassion") to [Secretary Harley].

1707, November 25.—I writ to you last post so I shall say little at this time only to put you in mind of what I writ in my last, for I am uneasy here. I find you have set Robert Moray at liberty and that the Marquis of Tweeddale obtained it from you. I wonder you was persuaded, it is true he might have had liberty from this Government to have gone for France, and was perhaps employed by Mr. James Seton and Drumelaer to bring over my Lord Wynton; but he positively stayed at St. Germain thirteen weeks and at Paris incognito, and I am told his table book mentioned that he was at St. Germain. Now if you could but 'a keched' him on that score, to have saved himself he would have made a net discovery of the whole affair of what Colonel Huck (Hooke) and his brother John came over for. You may believe me, he is privy to the whole affair and is at the bottom of it all, and this some of the nobility that is above knows well, but believe me the hand of Job is in it. It is true the Court party believe they are pretty sure of the Duke of Hamilton, and the Jacobite party does not trust him, but his Grace would not willingly for a great deal that the Court should know all that Robert Moray knows of his Grace. I believe you do not know the relation betwixt the Marquis of Tweeddale and Duke Hamilton, the Marquis's son is married to the Duke's sister, but he was not apprehended as he ought to have been. You may believe me that you will never be obeyed in Scotland nor your orders executed as they should be unless you take other measures, for the one half of them dares [not?] to meddle with the other; but to all this I shall give satisfaction when I come up.

It is talked here that it was the Duke of Hamilton set the Court on this fellow Carsland (Ker of Kersland) to 'debosh' him, and the reason was this Carsland told publicly that the Duke of Hamilton was dogged at night where he was seen go into the Duke of Queensberry's chamber and stay there the most of the night. The Duke was 'divlisly' afraid to be brought in suspicion with the Jacobites, so he not only set the Court party on Carsland, but was the first published to the world he was a rogue to his party, and had been above and got a hundred and fifty pounds to betray all. And in this case matters stand. The French troops were promised to be here at Martinmas, as they call it in this country. I pray you do not fail to send me a little money that I may come up; the sooner I am with you it will be the more to your satisfaction, but I pray keep all close till I come up, and then you shall have better grounds to speak than I can give you by writing at present.

[The Earl of Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

[1707, December 3,] Wednesday noon.—I return the letter [Capt. Ogilvie's, Nov. 25] you did me the favour to send me. I believe most of what it says is true, and more than what he says relating to Kersland is, to my knowledge, true.

I incline to think as you do that to-morrow will require so much of your time in the House of Commons as to make it reasonable that the Council should be put off till next week. I will go presently to Kensington to mention it to the Queen.

[The Same to the Same.]

1707, December 5, Friday evening.—I should be extremely sorry if I were capable of giving to anybody living, and much more to you, to write me a letter in so very extraordinary a style as yours seems to me. However if you have any commands for me I will be at home between eight and nine this night to receive them, and send to the Duke of Marlborough to meet you there.

At foot of this letter Harley has written :—"See the copy of the letter to which this was an answer on the other side." *The copy bears the same date and runs thus* :—"I humbly beg that I may have leave to wait upon your Lordship this evening at your house at eight, having some account to give your Lordship which I think in duty to your service I ought to acquaint you with; and I should be very glad my Lord Duke of Marlborough would be present. I hope your Lordship will this once pardon the trouble I give you."

[Robert Harley to the Earl of Godolphin.]

1707, December 17.—For fear I may not find your Lordship at home, I write this to leave it at your house with your Lordship's draught enclosed, which I have copied as it is. But I take the liberty humbly to propose to your Lordship some little alteration in the words I have drawn lines under, viz. :—

In the first paragraph, "of this Session" seems not necessary and the word occurs after.

In the next paragraph, "Public," "imaginable," may they not be left out?

In the second page, I have transferred Lord Chancellor's amendment, and also as your Lordship first drew it; and I humbly propose it should stand as it was first drawn, because the words "my opinion" are not acceptable words to a Parliament, and being once used caused great sourness, and the next amendment is not so agreeable to the following lines (*sic*).

In the third page, "still," will not the omitting this word make the paragraph more acceptable as well as more extensive, which the word "still" confines and overthrows.

[Earl of Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

[1707, December 17]. St. James's at 3.—I beg leave to tell you, upon the backside of your own letter, that I think the

paragraph we talked of just now at the House of Lords might begin thus:—"I told you at the opening of this Parliament that I did hope you would look upon the services relating to Portugal, Spain and Italy to be of so much importance in the prosecution of this war, as that they might deserve an augmentation.

"I cannot but think it would be of the greatest use," &c.

H. St. John to Secretary Harley.

1707-8, January 14. Whitehall.—Have received your letter of yesterday's date, with a copy of the address of the House of Commons to her Majesty for an account of the effective men of the Portuguese troops yearly since the treaty with Portugal, and of the number of them present at the battle of Almanza, or at that time in other parts of Spain or Portugal. Having never received any account, either from her Majesty's ministers or from the general officers serving abroad with those forces, of the condition or strength thereof, I am not able to make any return of what is required, unless I can receive information from any of the officers now in Britain who have served in Portugal and Spain, which I will endeavour to get. *Signed.*

Queen Anne to Secretary Harley.

[1707-8, January 21, *dated by Harley*]. "Wensday night.—Not being sure when I shall have an opportunity of speaking with you, I writt this to desire you would com to me to morrow morning at eleven o'clock, or the next day at the same hour, as it is most convenient to yourself. I am with all sincerity.

Your very affectionett friend,

Anne R."

"For Mr. Secretary Harley."

The Same to the Same.

[1707-8, January 27, *endorsed by Harley.*] "Teusday night.—I give you this trouble to desire when you speak with St. Johns about laying an account before the Lords of what regiments can be spared that you would take care that would not be named I have soe often mentioned to you, because, besides the reason you know, if it should be ordered anywhere before theire is a new Lieutenant-Colonel named, it would bring an inconvenience upon me, but this must be known to none but yourself.

Your very affectionett friend,

Anne R."

Postscript.—I hope I shall see you to-morrow in the evening.

"For Mr. Secretary Harley."

[Robert Harley to the Earl of Godolphin.]

1707-8, January 30, Friday.—Last night Mr. Attorney acquainted me that I was fallen under your Lordship's displeasure; he would not tell me any particulars. This I could

not but receive with the utmost grief, and had it not been so late I had given your Lordship the trouble of a letter to desire leave to wait upon you, to clear myself. This morning my Lord Duke of Marlborough gave me permission to attend him upon a like occasion, and his Grace was pleased to tell me the particulars. I know it is impossible to ward against misrepresentations or misconstructions, or the application of things said generally to a particular purpose which was never thought of; for I do solemnly protest I never entertained the least thought derogating from your Lordship or prejudicial to your interest. I am confident in my own innocency, and I know no better way to clear myself than to desire your Lordship will let me by my actions demonstrate the uprightness of my intentions, and my zeal and duty for your Lordship's person and service.

Draft in Harley's handwriting.

[The Earl of Godolphin to Robert Harley.]

[1707-8, January 30.]—I have received your letter, and am very sorry for what has happened to lose the good opinion I had so much inclination to have of you, but I cannot help seeing and hearing, nor believing my senses. I am very far from having deserved it from you. God forgive you!

Endorsed by Harley :—"Delivered me at the Cockpit by the Lord Treasurer, Jan. 30, 1707-8."

Henry St. John to Robert Harley.

1708, May 1. Bucklebury.—Mr. Long is now with me, and the account he gives me is that there are three candidates at Cricklade, Mr. Dunch, Mr. Vernon, and one Mr. Goddard. The two former have engaged all the votes but fifty, which are thirty short of the number necessary, so that if the latter should resign to me still it is impossible for me to succeed. Mr. Long and another gentleman of my friends have talked with the bailiff and others whom they can trust, and you may depend on this as a true state of the matter.

I have seen Mr. Child's letter to Mr. Long from the Devises wherein he owns it is impossible to do any good there, and in short the intention was only to have drawn me in to a share of the expense.

Mr. Long is clearly of opinion that Mr. Rob. Bertie does not care to stand, and that I might be chose at Westbury if my Lord Arlington pleased, which I am far from thinking he will. I neither have omitted, nor would omit, any trouble, care or expense in my power since my friends think I might be of some little use to them and to my country, but know not which way to turn myself.

My father makes a scandalous figure, neglected by all the gentlemen, and sure of miscarrying where his family always were reverenced. 'Tis late at night. I am ever yours most faithfully.

Postscript.—You will acquaint Harcourt with these matters.

[The Duke of Shrewsbury to Robert] Harley.

1708, May 6, at night.—I intend to go on Saturday next to wait on the same person I attended on Saturday last. I hope I shall have some opportunity of discoursing you before that time when it is least inconvenient to you.

The last time I saw you I think I told you I was ready to meet Sir S. Har[court] whenever you thought proper and would give me notice.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to [Robert Harley].

1708, July 29. Heathrop (Heythrop).—I shall be extreme glad at all times to see you and especially at this. It would look too much like mystery if we should meet at any third place, and think the most natural and unexceptionable way would be that you would either dine here or lie here one night, as will be most convenient to you, and am sorry you did not think of doing it on your way from London to Stow, for my house does not lie a mile out of that road, and Stow is seven miles beyond me almost towards Tewkesbury. But I hope, since your horses are at Oxford, you will be there this evening, and I will send a servant on purpose with another letter. I shall dine at home every day this week and the beginning of the next, and am, &c.

[Henry St. John to Robert Harley.]

1708, October 11.—I got home without any misfortune but that of being wet twice a day to the skin. You was very happy in nicking the time for your return so as to escape the almost uninterrupted storm. But 'tis in your fate to do so. You have before now been in dangers of this kind and have yet been so prudent and so lucky both, as to receive only some sprinkling drops and to gain shelter before the whole tempest could overtake you.

I have thought a good while that you could expect from one quarter nothing but that you have met with, and this prepossession used to make me very uneasy when we were building up the power of a faction which it was plain we should find it necessary in a short time to pull down, and when we entered into some engagements which would prove clogs and fetters upon us whenever we came in our own defence to play a contrary game.

This has been, and this is, our case, and what can redeem us from more than Egyptian bondage? There is one person who with a fiat resolutely pronounced might do it; but when I recollect all I heard and saw last winter I despair of any salvation from thence. There is no hope I am fully convinced but in the Church of England party, nor in that neither on the foot it now stands, and without more confidence than is yet re-established between them and us. Why do you not gain Bromley entirely? The task is not difficult, and by governing him without seeming

to do so, you will influence them. Your friends, I mean such of them as are in Parliament, will I dare say take their parts and do everything which they possibly can without direct contradiction to themselves.

You broke the party, unite it again, their sufferings have made them wise, and whatever piques or jealousies they may entertain at present, as they feel the success of better conduct these will wear off, and you will have it in your power by reasonable measures to lead them to reasonable ends.

If they are not at first strong enough to conquer they will be too strong to be broken. This hollow square will defend you who seem to be singled out for destruction, and will be in condition whenever the propitious day comes to lodge power where it naturally should be, with property.

I ask your pardon for being so tedious but for my part till I see something done I shall have no hopes of any employment in London which can make me amends for leaving this retreat, and some of the most valuable of our friends whom I have seen this summer seem to be of the same mind.

Frank [his wife Frances] is extremely your servant and I am unalterably what I have ever endeavoured to show myself.

G[eorge] G[ranville] who is now with me assures you of his faithful service.

Robert Harley to Sir Simon Harcourt.

1708, October 16.—I take it for granted this will find you returned to London, and very deep in Chancery. If you have a spare minute for an old friend to peep upon you, let this paper tell you how wholly I am yours, and now the 16th of November drawing near it puts me in mind to whisper to you how easy and light I find myself that I have nothing to answer for but my own faults, and that nothing of the miscarriages of others, or their misfortunes, will call for any apology from us, but like the day of doom they must be judged by their own works.

Our military prowess and conduct is now famous, and the Dutch will rely upon it, and as for our economy it is very good, as long as money flowed and funds would run, who but we—we sucked till the blood came, and no regard to what was to come after; now everything is run out of breath, the mines are worked out, we have a necessity created of a long war, and that is now to be made an argument for most extravagant burdens this next year. It is ridiculous for me to send news to London, but I cannot forbear letting you know what is the report of our country, they say that there is a bargain made that Sir R. Onslow shall again be made a lord, to qualify his son to marry a vast fortune, this and some other considerations will oblige him to be Speaker, that Sir P. K[ing] hath upon some promise declined his solicitations, others think after all it will be devolved on Sir J. K., for it is plain Sir William will do his utmost to bring in that relation, though he knows they rail at him and hate him, may be he thinks their extravagance will make him wished for again.

We have it also current here that at a meeting in the City where were divers of our rulers yesterday se'nnight it was agreed to raise six millions, and that it was impossible to do it by loans, but it must be by Exchequer Bills, and those to be secured by the Malt Tax granted for perpetuity, but they will condescend to let there be a clause of redemption. Is there any need of Parliament meeting? Put it? Put it?

Jam vacui capita populum Phœaca putabant.

I hear also that the great men of Scotland are also to be dropped as a sacrifice to the Junto, methinks some care should be taken to show them their condition, not only that of their country but of their own persons, and sure you cannot think for any quarter from the Junto who have taken the 'Squadrone' into their own bosoms.

What attacks have been made upon———, and that hitherto they have received only denial you are nearer to hear than I am.

But give me leave to acquaint you that I received a letter last post from a friend of yours and mine that Mr. B[romley] would be a candidate for the chair, in case you and I would approve of it, and that they had hopes to carry it. I immediately returned an answer that after what had passed by discourse and also letters I could not think there was any room left to doubt of my serving him heartily, that I wished they might succeed, that I judged it would be requisite to lose no time in summoning up all friends, though I did believe it ought only to be in generals, and that the more it were kept secret, the name of the person who is to be set up, the greater amazement it would be to the adversaries. I think if it be well conducted it may be brought very near, I am sure it will have this one good effect it will bring people together, who I doubt not but will be sufficient to prevent a great deal of mischief, for I find the deadness and want of spirit in some emboldens ill persons to undertake many things they would not else venture upon.

I have not heard any thing of the Thracian, but I hope George Granville has fixed his matter and that it appears clear to you. I wish you would speak to George to write to all his friends to be in town the first day.

Adieu, my best friend. I think Mr. B. has no need of more testimonies of your sincerity and mine than what we have already given him. I heartily kiss the young gentleman's hands.

Copy.

[Henry St. John to Robert Harley.]

1708, November 6.—I am as much convinced as it is possible to be that going out of employment at the time and in the manner we did was equally honest and prudent. No man's opinion can add any weight to confirm me in this thought.

I must say further that the merit of this action depends, according to my apprehension, on the use which you and your friends make of that state of freedom which they placed themselves in by laying down their employments.

No one living is able to do so much as you towards removing our present evils, and towards averting those which a very short-sighted man may perceive to impend over us. But you are the

mark at which every dart of faction is levelled, and it is impossible either that you should be safe from daily insults, or that the least progress should be made towards those views which you propose, unless a number of gentlemen be satisfied of their danger, unless they be convinced that to preserve themselves they must follow you, unless you inspire your party with industry and courage, which at present seem only to be possessed by the factions, and with as much of that virtuous love of the country as this vile generation is capable of receiving and which at present seems not to have the least share in the guidance of any side. The fiery trial of affliction has made the gentlemen of the Church of England more prepared to form such a party than from their former conduct it might have been expected, and you seem to be with regard to them in the case of *Plautius nam alteros sibi jam placatos esse intelligo, alteros nunquam iratos fuisse.*

A thorough conviction that these propositions are true has given occasions to long letters for which I can make no excuse so good, and therefore will borrow one from Tully—"*Nunc tantum significandum putari, ut potius amorem tibi ostenderem meum, quam ostentarem prudentiam.*"

What you mention concerning Sir William [Wyndham]'s submissive protestations, and the scorn with which Wh[arton?] received them surprises me not. But that they should think of raising sixteen regiments more, and of mortgaging either land or malt, is to my apprehension downright infatuation and what I am glad of. They hasten things to a decision, and our slavery and their empire are put upon that issue. For God's sake let us be once out of Spain!

The Cardinal [Auditor Harley?] tells me what you have done to gain Mr. B[romley], and how well you have succeeded. I make no question but you will unite and govern the whole body of gentlemen to their own and to your good. G[eorge] G[ranville] will not let me conclude without adding a few lines of an epistle of Tully to Plancus. I have told him that Tully is not in your favour, and that before you come thus far you will be tired of my Latin and English too. 'Tis to no purpose, he will have them sent and here they are—"*Scis profecto nihil enim te fugere potuit fuisse quoddam tempus, quum homines existimarent te nimis servire temporibus. Quod ego quoque existimarem si te, ea quae patiebare, probasse etiam arbitrarer. Nunc alia ratio est omnium rerum, tuum judicium est, idque liberam. Incumbe per deos immortales in eam curam et cogitationem quae tibi summam dignitatem et gloriam afferat.*"

In contributing to which you may depend on me as a man, how pleased soever I am with the life I now lead, ready to take any part I may be thought able to discharge.

They are in great uneasiness about the close of the campaign in Flanders; the fault is to be laid on the Dutch.

Shall you not be forthwith in London?

The death of the Prince gives me thoughts which I will not trouble you with.

I shall be in London to look a little about me at the end of this month. G.G. [Granville], who is much your servant, will be there very soon.

H. St. J[ohn] to Thomas [Harley?].

1708, November 15. Bucklebury.—Dear Tom, I never was more vexed in my life than when I rose this morning to find the servants I had ordered to attend you in the morning had been drunk all night and neglected to wait on you. I have sent them a grazing, and I ask your pardon for the ill-usage you had.

I forgot to speak to Mr. Harley at Oxford in a matter which concerns me very nearly, and which I desire you to mention to him. A kinsman of mine, and as honest a good man as ever was, is put on the list of sheriffs for Wilts. I would never solicit to have him excused, nor would Mr. Pleydell desire it, was it possible for him to discharge the office; but his health is so extremely ruined by sickness, and his mind so broken by misfortunes, that it would be an act of barbarity to force him into this employment.

If Mr. Harley could prevail on the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Poulett, or any other privy councillor to appear for him, it would be a never to be forgotten obligation; and I pawn my word and honour the excuses are true in fact.

Dice (?) is your very humble servant. [*These concluding words are in Mrs. St. John's handwriting.*]

[Henry St. John to Robert Harley.]

1708-9, January 26.—I obeyed your orders last night, but our friend at the Temple [Harcourt] was so busy that he was forced to neglect answering even your summons, and my company would have been of no great moment in your council.

I am just now told that the motion made to-day by Lord W. P[aulet] is by direction, and that there is to be the same stress laid upon the proceedings in consequence of it against you as was on the election [for Abingdon] against Har[court]. I mention this to you because I fancy my information comes from one who has been already very plainly spoke to.

[The Duke of Shrewsbury] to [Robert] Harley.

1708-9, March 2.—I am sorry we have so often missed one another, when I have been at your house and you have sent hither. If you could be at home any time to-night between seven and ten or to-morrow night, I would endeavour to wait on you.

H. St. John to [Robert Harley].

1709, August 14. Astrop.—Hearing by Dr. Stratford that you have married your daughter the last week, I look upon myself as entituled by the part I take in everything which relates to you, to trouble you with a letter on this occasion. Do me therefore the justice to believe that I wish the young couple happy in each other, and you so in both of 'em.

It is great satisfaction to me to consider that this happiness must needs attend a match, where you have brought into your family one who by his good sense, his knowledge, his probity, and his modesty seemed to be akin to you even before his marriage.

[Henry St. John to Robert Harley.]

1709, September 17. Bucklebury.—I send this note to express my concern that I am not able to wait upon you at Oxford as Mr. Granville and I had proposed to do.

You can have nothing to communicate to me which will not be so far welcome that it comes from you. But I begin to expect neither peace abroad nor good order at home. I wish you perfect health and good weather, two articles of no small importance to the satisfaction and joy of life.

In three weeks time I intend to go to Lavington, my hounds and horses are already there, my books will soon follow. In that retreat if I may hear sometimes that you and the few friends which I have in the world are well, all will be well with me. I am ever, &c.

Postscript.—I beg leave to assure my Lord Dupplin of my most humble service. Frank is extremely yours.

[The Same to the Same.]

1709, September 21. Bucklebury.—Having an opportunity of sending a letter safely to Oxford, and Stratford having formerly told me that he had a very sure way of conveying anything to you, I transmit this to him.

I should have been very glad to have known the particulars of this noble project, since it's hard to imagine what air of probability could be given to any story calculated for such a purpose. But there is an ill nature in the world which makes men incapable of submitting to the laws of friendship themselves, and of patiently seeing it prevail among others.

I thank you for those kind comprehensive wishes which you bestow upon me. In this obscure and private life I am perfectly easy, and shall with the same ease return to the noise and business of an active public life, whenever the service of my country or of my friends calls me forth.

Since you are so indifferent as not to trouble yourself either about the peace or about the measures which our governors at home will pursue, my indifference will increase upon me, and I will likewise wait with patience for that something which is not much expected.

Adieu, dear Sir, may you still continue involved in your virtue and shielded by your innocence, safe from every dart of malice. May all your designs for the good of your country prosper, and every other blessing light upon you.

Sic vovet H. S.

Postscript.—I am my Lord Dupplin's most faithful humble servant. My wife desires you to accept of her respects.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to [Robert Harley].

1709, September 3. [Heathrop.]—Though I was not at home when your servant called yet I had your letter very safe, and return you thanks for it. If this house should be in your road to Herefordshire and you would be pleased to take a bed or a dinner, or both, nobody would be more welcome to me.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1709, September 18. Heathrop.—I have been very apprehensive that the great change in the north might give such an over-balance one way as might create more difficulties than can presently occur to one's thoughts, but they may either tend to the deferring or hastening a peace as they are made use of.

Having company at present with me at dinner I have not time to say much, but I should be glad if you could let me know what time the Parliament will sit, when you intend to be in London, and whether there will be anything of moment, so that one need be there early in the Sessions.

The master of the "Crown" in Worcester, I think, is called Glynn, and is postmaster; if so, he was my servant and can send any letter directed to me safely hither.

THE SAME to [THE SAME].

1709, November 3. Heathrop.—I am very sensible how far I am from being able to act any considerable part in the good you mention, but shall always be ready to concur with you in everything may be for the interest of the public, being convinced nobody can wish better to it nor judge better of it than yourself.

I do not doubt but the generality of the nation long for a peace, and the majority of those who represent it, when discoursed singly in the country, agree in that opinion. But how they may change their minds when they come to London and submit to their leaders, I will not take upon me to determine. However it is evident so many circumstances from at home as well as from abroad make peace desirable, that if the nation could see how they might have a good one it is my opinion they would be very uneasy till they had it. Some opportunities have already been lost; if more of the same nature should offer it would be for the service of her Majesty and the public that they might not be slipped over in silence as the others have been; and how reasonable or practicable it may be to look back, and enquire into what has already passed in that affair, I shall defer mentioning till I am so fortunate to see you.

THE SAME to [THE SAME].

1709, December 1.—I am truly concerned at the cause of your deferring your journey, and agree it is too just as well as too melancholy a reason to any man of good nature; and whoever is without that best of qualities can, in my opinion, never deserve so entire an esteem as I shall always have for you. But I hope your son is in a way of recovery and will soon set you at liberty to be in town, where you cannot but know you are much wanted. I begin my journey to-morrow, designing to be in London on Saturday.

If this war in the north has been begun or encouraged by any contrivance of ours it is certain they know not what they have done, nor how bad the consequence may be, not so much at present as hereafter; if all the naval stores should get into one

hand it might prove the unhappiest monopoly that ever Englan saw. But I am entirely a stranger to what has been transacted in this affair, and hoping it will not be long before I shall have an opportunity to be more fully informed from you I now conclude.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to ROBERT HARLEY.

[1709-1710,] Thursday morning.—I found Lord H[alifax?] very flaming on the subject you two had discoursed, expressing great friendship to you and me and desirous we three might debate the matter together, but he was so possessed of the ruin such a resolution would bring on everybody concerned in the advice that he very near declared that he could not accept if that were not cleared. It will be worth while to endeavour to convince him, and if that cannot be, it should be considered what should be said to him here, in case he presses for some declaration; what strengthens my suspicion is that he has desired the Secretary that no step may be made towards it in the office, and that it may be kept private till he is able to come hither.

On the other side the D[uke] of S[omerset] is much out of humour, talks very despairingly—as if he sees nothing would be done—and sometimes doubtfully, of the above-mentioned council. I wish he and Lord Rivers and you and I might talk together soon, and if the motion came from you it were the better. I doubt he was nothing more out of humour because you and I were together yesterday, but for that I have but slight ground.

Since I writ so far I have seen the D[uke] of S[omerset]. He is in better humour but not quite as I wish.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [ROBERT HARLEY].

[1710, July 22, *endorsed.*] Saturday.—If any real satisfaction can be given her Majesty upon what we are to discover to-morrow morning I believe she will soon come to a resolution, and, as it will be necessary in the first place to resolve upon the persons to succeed, so I find an obstruction to any determination from a thought that I should be employed in that post. I have ten reasons, every one strong enough to hinder my doing it, but that of engaging in an employment I do not in the least understand and have not a head turned for ought to convince everybody else as well as myself that I am in the right, so that I make it my request to you to convince her Majesty that I am so, and that she, you, and everybody will turn your thoughts to the filling that Commission. In my mind you should be at the head, because you then come naturally into the Cabinet Council, where you are so much wanted; and every one of the other Commissioners should be persons able to serve not only at that Board but in one of the Houses of Parliament.

I hope you will be very particular in your instructions to Mr. Cressett, as well for Holland as Hanover, where I hope he may be very useful. I have just now yours of last night. I have no objection to either of them, but wish it may not remind the world, if Lord Je[rsey] should go, of that step in his conduct which I think is most exceptional: but of this we will talk more.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to Robert Harley.

1710, October 14.—Her Majesty has given Mr. Secretary directions to prepare a commission for my Lord Peterborough to be General of the Marines; I presume if you see him it may not be improper to let him know it, and that as to the other pretension there remain yet some difficulties.

I do not find that she has as yet given any orders about the two bishops [Bristol and St. David's], which should not be much longer delayed.

Her Majesty was so pleased with the good weather yesterday and the day before, and makes so much more use of it here at Windsor than she does at Hampton Court, that she seems resolved to return hither Tuesday se'nnight for the rest of that week.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to [Robert Harley].

1710, October 20.—I send you here enclosed a letter for the King of Hanover. I have this morning as well as last night been with the Queen, and discoursed her about the D[uke of] Ar[gyll]. Last night she resolved to tell him when she saw him that she was sorry her circumstances would not allow her to do what she understood he desired. I told her that answer would certainly disoblige, and this morning I find her a little softened, but yet not resolved to grant. For my part I see no medium, and wish you would write to her upon the subject; I have said what I can, and will do so again before the D[uke] comes to-morrow.

The D[uke] of Som[erset] came hither last night, but as yet has not been with her Majesty.

Lord [Rochester] President, having left with me the City address, I read it to the Queen last night. She immediately took exception to the expression that "her right was Divine," and this morning told me that, having thought often of it, she could by no means like it, and thought it so unfit to be given to anybody that she wished it might be left out; if it can be I find she would like it much better. Pray talk with my Lord President upon this; he will be, I suppose, at the Cockpit, and dines at the Duke of Queensberry's, and if it can be omit that expression.

If you resolve to go into the country there are very many things to be settled first; the state of the House of Lords is bad, and a great prospect that Argyll, Rivers, Peterborough, Jersey, and Haversham will be dissatisfied, and Nottingham and Guernsey cool, unless her Majesty use some means to please them, which nobody can so much contribute to persuade her to as yourself. If something be not done for Lord Fitzwalter that will lose him and disgust Lord Rivers, who engaged for it.

Some resolution should be taken what to do with the troops embarked from the Isle of Wight, if they are not to do the service they have so long waited for; and Lord Peter[borough] will be distracted, and not without reason, if you go and leave his concerns undetermined.

The Sessions comes on so fast I wish you can be back before it be necessary to think of the Speech.

I hear the Bank is in great disorder, and I know not how the Board of Treasury can spare you long.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to [Robert Harley].

1710, November 10.—This morning I have had a long discourse with her Majesty about the Admiralty. You know the objections she has to Lord Jer[sey], which are no ways to be overcome but by the sad reflection how few there are capable of that post. It is now plain by the late orders sent that Lord Raby can hardly be here in time, for it would be unjustifiable not to settle that Commission before the Parliament meets. Lord Rivers was thought on, but I believe he would not care for a place of so great attendance. She ordered me to write to you if you could propose anybody, for she seems in haste the Commission should be passed; and willing Lord Mohun should be one, though not the first. I hope in your answer you will propose somebody better than has yet been thought on, or, if you cannot, you will have no ill occasion to press for Lord Jer[sey], or whoever you like best.

The Duke of Marlborough to [Robert Harley].

1711, [February 28-]March 10. Hague.—You will have seen by my letter the last post to Mr. Secretary St. John the situation I found affairs in upon my arrival here, and I shall desire to refer you to him from time to time without giving you the trouble of my letters, unless it be where anything may deserve your particular care; and I must now pray that—as you will observe by mine to him by this post how uneasy I am at the great diminution of our army to what it was the last year, whereas, considering the great efforts of the enemy, we ought rather to be stronger.—you will give your assistance in my desire of her Majesty's orders to replace the five regiments to be sent from hence, by foreign troops where they may be had, at the same time I receive her Majesty's direction for shipping off those regiments.

The Duke of Marlborough to —— Travers.

1711, April [3-]14. Hague.—I had the favour of yours of the 29th of the last month by the last post. I believe the reason of the monies not being ordered for Blenheim is occasioned by Mr. Harley's indisposition. I hope by this time he is abroad and the necessary orders have been given. If he lets the payments begin from the first of March the work may be carried on the faster. I shall be glad sometimes at your leisure to hear from you.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to [Robert Harley].

1711, April 17.—An express arrived to-night brings the news of the Emperor's death, the 17th n.s., upon which her Majesty

has resolved to call an extraordinary Cabinet to-morrow in the evening. I doubt your health will not permit you to be there; but as this is an affair of the last importance I hope you will communicate your thoughts to somebody concerning the most material points to be first resolved on and despatched.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to [Robert Harley].

1711, April 25.—Before I see Mr. Vanhulst I should be glad to concert with you what should be said to him, and agree whether the matter we meet upon to-night should be put into his management.

I cannot help thinking the letter from "Schaffouse" is a cheat and intended to lay the foundation of a future reward; however, it is upon a subject of such importance and relating to a life so necessary and precious to us all that all imaginable care should be taken of it, and I think a particular consideration should be had in what manner to propose to her Majesty not to be so exposed to attempts, as she certainly is, for want of attendance, and by her back stairs every where in all her houses being made the common way to come to her as well for strangers as her nearest domestics. I have lived in four Courts, and this is the first where I have ever seen anybody go up the back stairs unless such as the Prince would have come to him unobserved.

As to your own concern I think you believe I wish both you and the public well, and I hope you will do what is best for both, and upon that foot I am sure you never can be greater than I sincerely wish you; but at the same time that is done I conceive other alterations should be made, upon which it is impossible to give an opinion unless one knew how far the Queen would go, and cut our coat according to our cloth.

[The Duke of Shrewsbury to Robert Harley.]

[1711, *endorsed.*] April 26.—Upon consideration of our debate last night I am of opinion it will be impracticable that Mr. Vanhulst should go into Holland, and all who were at the meeting last night not immediately guess he is the man entrusted. I am also of opinion it will be impossible to keep this much longer a secret, nor do I think it very safe for us to do it; both French and Dutch will speak of it if it do not go on, and if it do it must soon be communicated to many. Upon the whole I could wish the Queen would speak of it to-night to the Cabinet, as a paper come to her hands without saying how, and in the Cabinet let them debate in what manner it should be sent to the Pensioner, either by Lord Raby or otherwise, as they think best; and at the same time Vanhulst might go over privately instructed by the Queen's order to say what she thinks proper to the Pensioner.

Take what method you please, I dare engage the secret will be none in fifteen days, and by attempting to keep it among ourselves we shall anger the rest of the Cabinet, Lord Raby, and even those entrusted with you and me, if without their knowledge we send a man to negotiate privately.

I have a little touch of the gout and in bed, which makes me write so that I doubt you cannot read it. If it be not too much trouble I should be glad to know your thoughts, and that you will excuse mine not so well digested as they should be.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to Robert Harley.

[Same date.] Thursday night.—The paper has been communicated to-night as was resolved, Lord Pre[sident] was not of that opinion, but he submitted it; I find some of the lords who refine (*sic*) the whole is concluded. I wish they were in the right.

I shall be ready to see Mr. Vanhuls to-morrow morning between nine and ten; I have not asked the Queen's leave, but suppose one may recommend particularly to him to talk freely to the Pensioner upon the paper the Queen sends him. I name between nine and ten because you said the morning, but I shall have nothing to do all day, and could as well see him at any other time as at that.

The gentleman I begged an employment for in the Customs at Dover or Deal, I have forgot which—his name was Power—died two days ago, and has left a numerous family, who must now all starve. The sons are so young that I will not propose one of them to succeed him, nor no other expedient to help them.

The Same to the Same.

[1711, end of April.] Friday.—The paper having been laid last night before the Cabinet Council and Mr. Secretary received his orders to write to Lord Raby to communicate it to the Pensioner, I conclude he will do it to-night, and, supposing Mr. Vanhuls will not go by this packet, hope you will take care at least that he write to the Pensioner upon the subject, as also to acquaint him he will be with him as soon as the next letters, desiring no resolution may be taken till he can discourse him.

Mr. Secretary was asking whether this should not be communicated to Drummond and he instructed to talk with the Pensioner upon; it is hard for us to say no without telling him Vanhuls has that commission which the Queen would have nobody know, so that if Mr. Secretary ask me I will tell him he ought to receive her Majesty's directions, and that nobody should be entrusted in an affair of this nature without her leave, and her Majesty might be prepared to say she thinks as few as is possible should know the secret for the present, and forbid him to write it to anybody. I trouble you with this because perhaps you may go to the Queen. I am too lame to appear, and apprehend that if I should force my knee I might be laid up for a longer time.

The Duke of Marlborough to [the Earl of Oxford].

1711, May [17-]28.—I should have written oftener to you but that I know Mr. St. John acquaints you with my private letters to him. Mine by this post will let you see the difficulties I meet with; and as I shall always be ready to take measures with you for the carrying on the service with success, so I must beg your

friendship and assistance. Upon my word and honour I am no ways ambitious of power, but if it be not made visible to the officers that I have the Queen's protection it will make it very difficult for me to preserve that discipline in this army which is for her service, which I have very much at my heart. I am very sensible of the hurry of business you have on your hands, so that I do not expect letters often from you, but this bearer, Mr. Craggs, on whose friendship I rely, you may freely give him your commands and he will be exact in acquainting me with them.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [ROBERT HARLEY].

1711, May 22. Tuesday.—According to my judgment, which, without affectation, is very mean, especially in Latin compositions, the enclosed* is very well done. The subject is noble, and I think what is writ upon it very handsome.

I shall be ready to attend you, Mr. Secretary, and the M. del Borgo. I wish we might first have considered what we should have said to him, it might have saved time and another meeting; but I am of opinion what he says must at last be put in writing and communicated to the Cabinet Council. I know not whether you design to be at the Cockpit this morning: it is certain we want your help, and that there are now four things relating to foreign affairs to be considered of as great consequence as can be—this of the Duke of Savoy; the answer to the Pensioner about the project we sent over; the affair of Portugal; and the demand of the King of Sweden, with the whole consideration of that northern war, and the treaties and engagements the Queen is in to those different interests. I am confident when you reflect on the importance of these affairs you will be of opinion they should be well considered.

I observed in Vanhulst's letter that the Pensioner imagined I had a more than ordinary intimacy with Lord Raby. I cannot conceive what ground he has for that. My acquaintance with him was as little as can be with one who was always in the late King's Court, and I never had any correspondence in my life with him till he writ to me upon my coming last year into her Majesty's service; and can assure you I have never named Vanhulst, the errand he went upon, or your correspondence with the Pensioner, to him. The last I did recommend to Lord Albemarle, and perceive he had taken pains in it, and with some success.

Surely it is time the Queen began to make such removes as she is resolved upon. I heard Lord Privy Seal [Bishop of Bristol] talks of going out of town for a few days this week. Would not that be a great inconvenience and delay to all business?

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1711, [May 29-] June 8.—I received your favour of the 18-29 past with great satisfaction, and do heartily congratulate your having recovered your strength to such a degree as to be able to attend

* The preamble to Harley's patent creating him Earl of Oxford.

the public service again, and I hope the business of the House of Commons, in which you have so great a share, and have hitherto succeeded so much to the advantage of the nation as well as to your own honour, will soon be happily ended, that you may be more at liberty to attend at the Council and the Treasury, on which the Queen's service at home and that of the public abroad do so much depend. I am very sensible of the obligation I have to you that the army here has been hitherto so regularly subsisted, and I am persuaded we are so much in your thoughts that I need not pray the continuance of your care of us.

I am extremely obliged to you for the assurance you give me, that the building of Blenheim shall not be neglected. I cannot dissemble the desire I have to see that monument of her Majesty's goodness, and the nation's acceptance of my service, brought to some degree of perfection, I hope I shall give no just reason for posterity to reproach you for having been the finisher of it, and if I have the good fortune to spend any part of my life there I shall always have in my view a remembrancer of the obligations I owe you on this account.

M[argaret, Countess of] Marlborough to [the Earl of Oxford].

1711, June 7.—Though I have not the happiness to be personally known to you, yet my grievous circumstances and present extremity will, I hope, plead my excuse for troubling you in this manner, being unable to wait on you myself, and indeed destitute of any friend—except the gentleman that brings you this—to solicit my affair, which is humbly to desire that you will please to take into your consideration the prayer of my petition now lodged in the Treasury, and that some immediate relief may be ordered me, for I am now reduced to the last extremity.

My Lord, for God's sake let not the multitude of your weighty affairs make you forget the deplorable condition of, &c.

The Duke of Marlborough to [the Earl of Oxford].

1711, June [11-]22.—I am just now favoured with your Lordship's obliging letters of the 25th and 29th past; each of them gives me occasion to congratulate you upon the fresh marks you have received of the Queen's favour.

After the kind assurances you give me of your friendship, I should be very much wanting both in my public and private capacity if I neglected anything within the compass of my knowledge or power that might contribute to the making the discharge of your high trust as easy and agreeable to you as may be. I am very sensible how necessary good husbandry is in the vast expense we are at. I have hitherto heartily endeavoured to put an end to it, and assure you that while the nation is obliged to bear that heavy burden, it shall be my constant study to manage that part of the war I am concerned in with the utmost frugality. I pray I may hereafter have your commands without reserve, which I would not ask if I were not resolved you shall always find my returns such as may really convince you it cannot be more my interest than it is my inclination to approve myself with the greatest truth, &c.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1711, July [5-]16.—I give your Lordship many thanks for the honour of your letter of the $\frac{26 \text{ June}}{7 \text{ July}}$ and pray you will believe it shall always be my endeavour to make all possible returns for your friendship and good offices, of which you continue to give me such convincing proofs, as well by the provision you make for the public service, in which I have my lot, as for that part of my private concerns. Upon the former of these points I gave you my thoughts in my letter of the 4th instant, with the freedom which you encourage me to make use of, and her Majesty's service requires. I must expect your Lordship's answer before I can say any more upon that subject, or send over the person I proposed to you, so that I shall at this time trouble you no further than to repeat a truth which all my actions shall confirm: I mean that of the just value I have for your friendship, and the sincerity wherewith I am, &c.

Postscript. I fear the conduct of the King of Poland, as to the corps of neutrality, may prove very troublesome to the Allies.

THE SAME to [THE SAME].

1711, July [15-]26.—I have let a post pass without returning your Lordship thanks for the honour of your letter of the $\frac{6}{17}$ instant, choosing rather to do it by Lord Stair himself: his private affairs on your side have been long known to require his presence there. I am persuaded his voyage will give no other umbrage among us, and I will take all possible care the secret do not get vent in Holland.

I cannot expect, neither can you give me, greater assurances and proofs of your friendship than you have done, and I flatter myself you will not question the sincerity of my endeavours to merit the continuance of it, when I tell you I am entirely sensible that without the Queen's favour, and your confidence, it will be impossible for me to carry on the service with any advantage to the public, or satisfaction to myself. The latter depends wholly upon the former, and it is to the promoting of that I shall most heartily employ all the means in my power, but I shall shorten this letter, and pray leave to refer you for the rest to my Lord Stair, who will fully explain to you every article of the project, and better express than I can write my true sentiments in regard to yourself. I know his Lordship cannot have a more powerful recommendation to you than his own merit, and shall therefore only add, that as I have always had great reason to be satisfied with the good service he has done the public, and his continual friendship to myself in particular, so I now assure him he can do me none so great as that of confirming your Lordship in the opinion you do me the justice to entertain, of my being with the greatest truth, &c.

Postscript.—Having just now received a piece of the Duke of Bavaria's new coin, I send it to your Lordship that you may see the titles he takes.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1711, [July 27-] August 6.—It is with great pleasure I now give an account by Brigadier Sutton of our having passed the enemy's lines, the importance of which may best be judged of by the precautions the enemy have been taking as well last year as this to prevent it. You will have heard of our late motions towards the lines between Arras and Hedin, which, having had the effect I proposed in drawing the Mareshal de Villars with all his troops that way, we made a march on Tuesday night with so much diligence that our advanced troops got over the Sensett at Harleux yesterday morning by break of day, before the enemy could come to make any opposition. Monsieur de Villars, with the head of his line of horse, appeared near Oissy at eleven in the morning, but finding by the number of troops we had then passed over he was not in a condition to attack us he retired, and we encamped between the Sensett and the Schelde. I cannot express the zeal and resolution all the troops showed on this occasion, good part of them having marched twenty-four hours without halting, but I must refer your Lordship for the further particulars of this fortunate enterprise to Brigadier Sutton whom I am very glad to send to give the Queen an account of it, being persuaded her Majesty will be no less satisfied to hear of an event which may hereafter be of great advantage, and will at present give a just reputation to her arms in all parts, though I ought not to conceal from you that by reason of the enemy's superiority our future operations must be attended with great difficulties. The most effectual means to remove them at once will be to bring the enemy to a battle, which I shall endeavour to do as far as lies in me, having all reason to hope that by the blessing of God the success will be as happy and glorious as it is necessary for us. A very little time will show whether the enemy are disposed to come to a general action or not: if they decline it I doubt not but we shall be able to make the siege of Bouchain, which place will be of great use to us in the execution of the project which has been laid before you; and if it be possible to prevent it by bringing the enemy to reason sooner, nothing in my power shall be omitted which may promote that great end. I desire the continuance of her Majesty's favour on no other conditions than the continuing to discharge my duty in such manner as may be most agreeable to her service. I am sure I shall by the same means preserve your friendship, and pray you will believe that I shall with great pleasure embrace all opportunities of convincing you that I am, with truth, &c.

THE SAME to [THE SAME].

1711, August [2-] 13.—I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 24th of July, and must own the share I have of obligation to you for the kind reception my Lord Stairs has met with. I shall expect his return with some impatience, as well upon account of the orders he will bring as for the satisfaction I propose from the report of his conferences with your Lordship, and till he arrives I shall not be able to add anything to what you will have heard from Brigadier Sutton of our further

views here; but I cannot conclude this without returning you thanks for a favour which I am to esteem the greater because you take no notice of it. It is from other hands that I am informed your Lordship has been so kind as to remove the difficulties that obstructed the signing the warrant for the building at Blenheim. I can have no other hopes than from your Lordship's friendship to see that work finished in my time, and your past good offices on that account lay me under the greatest obligations to endeavour by all means possible to deserve the continuance of them.

Postscript.—You will see by my letter to Mr. Secretary our present circumstances.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Oxford.

1711, August 8. Heathrop.—I have this moment received your letter by the messenger, and not having horses laid on the road cannot easily come in one day, but will be at Windsor Friday by ten in the morning, and if I find neither your Lordship nor Mr. Secretary there, I will only wait on her Majesty, and be at London the same evening between seven and eight, ready to receive any commands you have to lay upon me and attend you where you will direct me. If your Lordship should think it more proper I remained at Windsor and did not come to town, I hope you will send me your commands in time to Windsor. I shall say nothing more till I have the honour to see you.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

[1711,] August 21.—I have bin in soe much paine all the last night and this day that it is not easy to me now to writt, and therfore I hope you will excuse me for only thanking you for your letter and assureing you I do not at all doubt of the sincerity of your friendship for her that is, with all sincerity,

Your very affectionett freind,

Anne R.

Postscript.—If it please God to send me a tolerable good night I intend to writt to you againe to-morrow morning.

For the Lord Treasurer.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to [the Earl of Oxford].

1711, August 27. Heathrop.—The news your Lordship sends of her Majesty's good health is very welcome, but that of the death of Lord Jersey very surprising and melancholy.

The Bishop of Bristol's abilities and knowledge in foreign affairs make her Majesty's intentions for him very reasonable, and the only objection I can form to myself against it is that, being a man who has passed most of his life abroad, and having (I suppose) not many relations of much figure at home, the bringing him into such a post adds no interest in either House towards carrying on her Majesty's business in Parliament; and so many of our friends in the Lords' House being dead, and many more soured or at least become luke-warm by disappointments in their expectations, I apprehend matters in that House at least will meet with difficulties.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

[1711,] August 30.—I give you many thanks for your kind enquiry after my health, which I thank God is soe much mended within these two days that I hope, with the help of a stick, to be able to walk to Council a Munday. I have just now signed the warrant for the Scots signet and several other pappers Lord Dartmouth brought me, and am too lazy to writt to the Duke of Marlborough to-night, therefore must desire the fayvour of you to let Lord Stairs know I can not get my letter ready to go by him, but will send it time enough to overtake him before he can get to the Army; which is all I have to trouble you with at present, but that I am, &c.,

For the Lord Treasurer.

The Duke of Marlborough to [the Earl of Oxford].

1711, [August 24-] September 3.—I am honoured with your Lordship's letter of the $\frac{14}{25}$ August, and shall have the greater desire to see my Lord Stairs here because he will be so fully instructed in your sentiments, by which I shall be entirely guided. I am not very apprehensive this siege will give the enemy any light into the intended project; they must be sensible we could not well undertake anything else, and it is most probable they think of securing their frontier by new lines, which I hope may be of as little use to them as their old ones have hitherto proved; besides, I think nothing can be a greater inducement to oblige them to think seriously of a peace than their being sensible of our vigorous and early preparations for carrying on the war. I am very sensible, and so are all her Majesty's troops, of the benefit we have of your early remittances. The alteration that has been lately made in the hands through which the money is afterwards distributed is what I thought Mr. Bridges had satisfied you in, and therefore as I never concerned myself otherwise in that matter so I did not think it necessary to trouble your Lordship with it. I cannot but take extremely kind the indulgence you express for me in consideration of the business I have here. I must confess to you the last six weeks have given me frequent and sensible remembrances of my growing old; the conscience of my doing my utmost for the Queen's service, the hopes of her Majesty's acceptance and the assurance of your friendship are my chief consolation, and whatever employment I may have upon my hands I shall always esteem it a pleasure rather than an increase of trouble if I can any way contribute towards the putting the war in Spain or any other part of the service on a better foot. You will please to remember I explained myself pretty fully to you on that subject before I left England; if anything I can do or say more may be of use to you I pray you will not spare me. The affairs in Portugal have at present no very promising aspect. We might with reason have expected some advantage from the campaign on that side, but I fear there is too much ground for the reflection Lord Portmore makes upon it. Your Lordship will see by what I write to Mr. Secretary that

the enemy have made a vigorous effort to succour Bouchain; as we had the good fortune to disappoint them, I hope we shall have the like success in the further uneasinesses he will be every day giving us.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1711, [August 30-] September 9.—I cannot omit returning my hearty thanks to your Lordship for the kind advice you have been pleased to give me by Mr. Craggs, relating to the money issued from the Exchequer for the building of Blenheim. I was always of the same opinion that the application of it should be examined with the strictest scrutiny, not only for my own sake but that her Majesty and the public might be satisfied the works had been carried on with the best economy. I have given Mr. Craggs the names of five persons to be employed in examining and auditing the accounts from the beginning, and should take it as a particular obligation if your Lordship would name two proper persons more to be joined to them in this service.

THE SAME to [THE SAME].

1711, September [3-]14.—I am persuaded I cannot write with greater satisfaction than your Lordship will receive the account I have now the honour to send you of our having brought the siege of Bouchain to a happy conclusion. The Governor beat the chamade on Saturday about noon, and sent out a good number of articles. I returned a short answer that the garrison must expect no other conditions than to be prisoners of war, to which they at first refused to submit and we began to fire upon them again in the evening, which lasted till midnight, when they desired another parley, and after some dispute agreed to accept our terms. I heartily congratulate your Lordship on this happy success, which, considering the difficulties the siege has been attended with, and the continual attempts of a superior army in sight of us to disturb it, may well be looked upon as an instance of the blessing of heaven upon the justice of our cause. I hope the enemy will consider it as such, and that they will at last seriously think of putting an end to the destructions they have so long caused in Europe. It is very evident they do not put so much confidence in their superiority as they seemed to do in the beginning of the campaign. You will see by my former letters to Mr. Secretary that out of apprehension of our designing to undertake something further on this side, they have destroyed a good part of their own country to make it difficult for us to subsist in it, and it will be no easy matter to find forage during the time we shall be obliged to continue here, to put the town into a posture of defence. Several gentlemen of the army have solicited me to be the bearer of this good news, and I should have thought it important enough to have gratified one of them, but as I am unwilling on any occasion to add to the expense of the Government I choose rather to send Collins

the messenger. Your Lordship will see by the papers I sent to Mr. Secretary the difficulties they make at the Hague in furnishing their part of what will be necessary for the execution of the project transmitted by Lord Stairs, on which, in my opinion, so much depends, that I have prevailed upon my Lord Albemarle to make a turn to the Hague to induce the States to a compliance. As to her Majesty's share, my immediate aim is to manage it with all the frugality that is possible, and I doubt not but you will be satisfied I endeavour to do the same in every part of the war I am concerned in, but I shall at this time give you no further trouble than to assure you of my sincere desire to give you the most convincing proofs of the truth, wherewith I am, &c.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

[1711,] September 6.—If Lord Stairs is gon I desire you would send the enclosed by to-morrow's post. I have not said anything in it concerning Mr. Charters for a reason I will tell you when I have the satisfaction of seeing you. I desired Mr. Secretary to acquaint you with a part of a letter he received by the last post concerning the Electoral Prince of Saxe, that you might have time to consider before you come hither what would be proper for me to do in that matter. Something I think I should do on several accounts, especialy on that of my neare relation to him, but it is a thing of that nice nature that I cannot determine anything in my own thoughts, and therefore shall give no orders to the Secretary till I can know your opinion.

For the Lord Treasurer.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

[1711,] September 13. Windsor.—I thank you for the draught of the letter you sent me for the Electres of Saxe, which I like very well, and have only altered a few words. I shall send it to Mr. Secretary to enclose to Mr. Scot by to-morrow's post; hopeing for the satisfaction of seeing [you] on Saturday I will trouble you with nothing more now but my being, &c.

For the Lord Treasurer.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

[1711,] September 19, Wensday night.—I received your letter this morning, and you may be assured I will not show the enclosed you sent me to any body. I am very willing to receive the compliment you mention if you can contrive a very private way to do it.

Since I saw you, Lord Chamberlain (Shrewsbury) has talked a good deale to me about the Peace, and I hope he will act very hartily in it, tho' he seems a little fearfull. I desired to speake to Mr. Secretary St. Johns to draw the commission himself that I am to give to the Lords of the Cabinet, for it can be no secret if it

goes thorow the clerk's hands, and I wish you would give yourself the trouble to read it to see that it is as it should be before it is brought to me to signe. I conclude I shall have an account from you to-morrow or next day of the particulars of the Instructions that are come over, and am, &c.

Postscript.—I hope you will excuse the blots of this letter, for I am in hast and can not writt it over againe.

For the Lord Treasurer.

Queen Anne to [the Earl of Oxford].

[1711,] September 20.—I give you many thanks for the account you send me of the conversation you had last night, and am very glad the great affair is in soe good a way. I pray God send a happy conclussion to it. You are very much in the right to desire Lord Privy Seal [Bishop Robinson] should be joyned with the Secretaries in drawing this Convention. I have yet heard nothing of the warrant Mr. Secretary is to prepare. I think if he has not yet given my Lord Strafford orders to hasten away it is high time that should be done.

I received a letter from Lord Dartmouth this evening in which he tells me Mr. Methuen says 'tis impossible for him to begin his journey till the end of November, which will be a great disappointment to the Duke of Savoy. If you have interest with Mr. Methuen I hope you will writt to him to lett him know the necessity there is of his hastening away, and I will order Lord Dartmouth to do the same.

For the Lord Treasurer.

The Duke of Marlborough to [the Earl of Oxford].

1711, September 21.—I received this afternoon the honour of your Lordship's letter of the $\frac{5}{16}$ instant from the hands of Lord Stairs, and had so much satisfaction in discoursing with him upon the several points you mention, that I have scarce time left to return you my thanks, however I cannot let the post go without giving you this fresh assurance that I am too well convinced of the sincerity of your friendship, and care to promote every thing I am concerned in, to neglect any opportunity that may offer of demonstrating to you how heartily I desire and endeavour to merit the continuance of them. By the account you are pleased to give me of the Queen's health, I am in hopes the gout, though it some times keep her Majesty under a little confinement, may the same effect it has been observed to have elsewhere and lengthen her days, which is the greatest blessing than can befall her people. I must pray leave to refer your Lordship to what I write to Mr. Secretary, as well in relation to the progress Lord Albemarle makes in his solicitations at the Hague, as to the troops the Elector of Hanover desires may winter in his own country, the former gives me hopes the States will come into the measures concerted for the execution of the project, and the latter may have reasonable satisfaction, and at

the same time contribute his quota here. My Lord Stairs has brought me a letter from my Lord Chamberlain of the 22nd of August, but his Grace does not give me any opinion in it upon the project. I am very much obliged to your Lordship for your further explanation upon the overtures of peace, and shall be very glad to do every thing that lies in my power towards the promoting that great work.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

[1711,] September 24.—I have this buisnes of the Peace soe much at hart, that I cannot help giveing you this trouble to ask if it may not be proper to order Mr. Secretary, in case he finds M. Menager very averse to the new propossition, not to insist upon it, and if you think it right I hope you will take care Mr. Secretary has such an order in my name, for I think there is nothing soe much to be feard as the letting the Treaty goe out of our hands. I desire you would not lett Mr. Gray have any money till I can speake with you againe.

Postscript.—I forgot this morning to speake to you about Mr. Framton, who I promised two months ago that he should have half a yeare of his salary against the next Newmarket meeting, which is now very neare; and he desiring the money might be sent him by the Duke of Somerset, if you should see him in town, pray lett him know I have given you order for it.

For the Lord Treasurer.

[The Duke of Shrewsbury] to [the Earl of Oxford].

1711, September 27.—Some business obliging me to go this morning to Windsor, I shall be forced to deny myself the satisfaction of waiting upon your Lordship; besides, having a very great cold, I believe the country air is better for me than so good a dinner.

I think it was once resolved that the Article of acknowledging the Pro[testant] succession, and that of Dunkirk, should be put into the paper Lord Strafford carries to Holland, and since Menager himself seemed to make no scruple of it, I am of opinion those two Articles would mend that paper, which of itself will I fear appear dry. Besides in the 20th Article of the Barrier treaty England and Holland do engage to enter upon no negotiation till the Queen's title and the Protestant succession have been acknowledged. It is indeed added that France shall promise also to remove the Pretender, of which I hope effectual care will be taken in time, though it has been judged improper to insist on it just now; but having already been too troublesome on these heads, I shall submit them, and am most faithfully, &c.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

[1711, September,] Wensday morning. Windsor.—I give you many thanks for your letter and do not all doubt of the assurances you give me of your having no veiw but for my service, and

acting therein as it is most agreeable to me. I think the D. of Marlborough shews plainer than ever by this new project his unwillingness for a peace, but I hope our negociations will succeed and then it will not be in his power to prevent it. It is sertinly very right of the D. of Shrewsbury should see the enclosed, but I cannot think it so, that Lord Keeper [Harcourt] should be a vicount, and therefore I desire you would endeavour to make him easy in that matter.

For the Lord Treasurer.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

[1711,] October 12.—I should not have troubled you with a letter now, but having heard by Masham how greived Sir Frances is at Mr. Bear's being to be removed from the Victualling Office, and thinking it very hard if a man who is honest and harmless, and has had hopes given him he should continue, should have a worse place given him, to gratefye other people, I cannot help writting this to let you know I will have Mr. Bear continue in the same office, lett there be never soe much fault found with it.

I have several other things to say to you but shall deferr them till I have the satisfaction of seeing you.

For the Lord Treasurer.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

[1711,] October 19. Windsor.—I received your letter too late last night to thank you for it then. I am very glad to find things are in soe good a way abroad for the Peace, but I am exstream sorry to heare you have bin out of order since I saw you, and therefore I desire you would not think of going any journey till you are perfectly well. I intend, an it please God, to be at Hampton Court Teusday or Wensday next which will be nearer to you; however I desire you would not com thither till you are easy, which I hope will be soon, and in the mean time be soe kind to your freinds as to give them an account of your health, and be assured of my being sincerly your very affectionate freind.

Postscript.—I keep the letter you sent me that I may return it safe to your own hand.

For the Lord Treasurer.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

[1711,] October 22. Windsor.—I had yesterday a long harangue from Msr. Buys much to the same purpose as his conversation with you and Mr. Secretary, and I answered him in those words you proposed. It is sertinly very right to dispatch him as soon as it is possible, and therfore I have ordered Lord Dartmouth to summon the Lords and Msr. Buys to meet at the Cockpit or at your house to-morrow, as it is most convenient for your health. I have endeavoured to perswaid one that is heare

to go to London to-morrow, but whether they (*sic*) will or no I am not yet sure.

I beg you would never make any more excuses for long letters, for I do assure you it is always a great satisfaction to me to heare from you.

For the Lord Treasurer.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

[1711,] October 26.—I must thank you now for your last letter, and should have don it sooner but for feare of troubleing you to often when you are not well, and I beg if it is not easy to you to writt not to give me any answer to this till it is.

I hope everything is now soe well seteld with Msr. Buys that he will be ready to go in a few days, tho' the Parliament should not meet soe soon as we now intend, and I fancy it cannot, for something must be said in my speech of the Peace, and I question whether in Holland they will make any hast to make any answer to what M. Buys is to say to them; but you are a better judge of this.

I wish there could be money enough found to pay the Prince's servants two quarters of the five they are in arrears, some of them being in very bad circumstances.

I am very sorry to find by those that came from London yesterday that you continue still very much indisposed. I pray God send you your health and preserve your life for the good of your country and all your faithfull friends; none I am sure is more soe then

Your very affectionate freind,

Anne R.

For the Lord Treasurer.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to [the Earl of Oxford].

1711, October 28, Sunday night.—I think it will be very right to endeavour by Gau[tier?] to get from Fr[ance] such proposals as might secure the Dutch they shall have a reasonable Barrier and treaty for Commerce, and Savoy a reasonable Barrier. I proposed at the Cockpit that care should be taken of acknowledging the King of Prussia, and the ninth Electorate in the King of Hanover, which last are points I believe will create no difficulty; but the Lords there thought these two last should not be mentioned. I desisted then submitting my sense to theirs, but backed by seeing it your Lordship's opinion, I begin to think it is right.

I agree all possible means should be used to keep Buys in good humour, and if the defensive Alliance can be despatched without too long delaying his return it would certainly be a very proper time to conclude it.

Mrs. Masham tells me your Lordship continues to mend. Pray God give you perfect and long health, no humble servant you have wishes it more heartily than I do, or thinks it of more importance to the public. What should we do without your help?

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

[1711,] November 3.—I give you many thanks for your letter and am very much obliged to you for the kind consern you express in it for my health. I am exstream sorry yours mends soe slowly, and shall continue my prayers for the perfect recovery and confirmation of it, being truly sensible how much the welfare of our poor country depends on you.

I will be sure to order Lord Dartmouth to send to the Lords of the Admiralty to prepare the new commission you sent me for the Victualling office. I will take care Lord James Murray shall have Charter[i]s' company in the Guards; and orders shall be given to have Msr. Buyses re-credentials and present in a readyness; but as to the Parliament I cannot tell yet when I shall be able to open it, for tho' I thank God I am much better then I was, I am not out of paine and the weaknes always continues a good while after. However I believe it will be necesary to come to some resolution at the next Cabinet Council, which I have appointed on Teusday and I think it would be best to have the Parliament prorouged to that day four weeks, and by that time I hope both you and I may be in a condition to go to the House. If you do not think this a proper day, lett me know before Teusday; and give me leave to beg you to be carefull of yourself and not to fatigue yourself with buisnes till you are better able to beare it, and that you may soon be soe and enjoy a long state of health nobody I am sure prays more hartely for then

Your very affectionate friend,

Anne R.

For the Lord Treasurer.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

[1711,] November 6.—Not knowing whether Mr. Secretary has consulted you about the enclosed I send it for your approbation before I would copy it. Mr. St. Johns knows nothing of the little alteration there is made in the letter, therefore take no notice of it to him. He proposes the Secretary of the Embassy that is now at the Hauge (Hague) should cary this letter to the Emperour, I should be glad to know whether you think him a proper person to do it. I intend very soon to trouble you with a longer letter and therfore shall add no more to this but that I am &c.

For the Lord Treasurer.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

[1711,] November 9.—I must now return you my thanks for yours of the 5th and am convinced that what you say about the prorouging of the Parliament is very right. I have not yet given any orders to the two Secretaries conserning the Speech thinking it will be time enough next week, and I hope you will have your thoughts on it too, when you can do it without prejudice to your health, which I pray God Almighty with all my hart to confirm to you.

Since we cannot depend upon the Duke of Montrose to go to Viena, why should not Lord Haddo be offered it. I beleeve Lord Jersey might do very well, but I think at this juncture we cannot part with one vote out of the House of Lords.

When the Duke of Marlborough com's I should think it will be best for me just to begin to open the matter of the Peace to him and to reffer him to you and Mr. Secretary for a fuller account of all that is passed.

I cannot emagin what Lord Sunderland proposes to himself in making you a vissit, but I am very easy about it, not doubting but you will manage him as is best for my service.

If some care is not taken to prevent Duke Hamilton from going to the House a Teusday he will sertinly then be introduced, which in my oppinion would be very wrong. I spoke to Lord Chamberlain (Shrewsbury) to use his interest to hinder it, but his Grace has got the gout, so cannot go to London. When I shall be able to undertake the journey I cannot tell for though I am, God be thanked, out of pain I can't yet walk, but I hope by that time the publick buisnes requires my being in town I shall get strength enough to beare the jolting of a coach.

I was very glad to heare by the Cofferer that you weare better, and wish this may find you perfectly well. However I would not have you think of coming to this place for feare of catching cold, but be carefull of your self that nothing may happen to hinder you from being able to lett me have the satisfaction of seeing you when I com to St. James's.

I am most sincerly,

Your very affectionate freind,

Anne R.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

[1711,] November 15.—I have just now received yours of to-day, and am very much ashamed I had not thanked you for your last before, but I hope you will excuse that fault. The news you sent me in your former concerning the Duke of Marlborough is something prodigious, and the account you give me in your last of his proceedings since I think is very extraordinary.

I am sorry the Duke of Shrewsbury should make complaints of me, I am sure I do not deserve them, for I speak to him of everything, and advise with him on all occasions and will continue doing soe, thinking it very right to keep him in good humour; but I cannot see how I can say anything to soften him, for I suppose I am not to know he complains of me.

I have several things to say to you but is it now too late to begin on any other subject, and therfore I shall trouble you with a longer letter to-morrow.

Give me leave to wish you joy of your grandson and that you may live to see him an old man. Pray be very carefull of yourself that you may get no more relapses before the meeting of the Parliament, and be assured of my being, &c.

For the Lord Treasurer.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

[1711,] November 19.—I beleeve you wonder'd to receive my letter that was dated the 16th not till yesterday. The reason of it was I begun it on Fryday and did not finish it till Saturday evening to late to send it. The Duke of Marlborough came to me yesterday as soon as I had dined, made a great many of his usiall proffessions of duty and affection to me. He seemed dejected and very uneasy about this matter of the publick accounts, stayed neare an hour and saw nobody heare but my self. When I have the satisfaction of seeing you I will give you a more particular account of all that passed between us.

I have no objection to Mr. Prior then what I mentioned in my last, for I always thought it very wrong to send people abroad of meane extraction; but since you think Mr. Prior will be very usefull at this time, I will comply with your desire.

I look upon it as a great happynes that the mob was disapointed of theire meeting, for God knows of what fatal consequence it might have proved. Should not the person that made the discovery be rewarded? I have not yet heard anything of the letter you mention from the Emperor, but I received one yesterd (*sic*) from the Duke of Savoy of which I suppose Lord Dartmouth has by this time given you an account. I shall not trouble you with any more at present but the assurances of being &c.

For the Lord Treasurer.

The Duke of Marlborough to [the Earl of Oxford].

1711, November 19.—I am very sorry I was from home when you intended me the honour of a visit this morning, had you not been otherwise engaged I should not have failed waiting on your Lordship this afternoon. I shall be obliged to go to-morrow morning early to Hamton Court, and am very desirous you will let me know what may be a convenient hour to yourself for me to come to your own house.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to [the Earl of Oxford].

[1711, November 23, *endorsed*] Friday.—I do without flattery assure you that I am perfectly pleased with the enclosed draughts. There are some few and very small alterations I shall mention when I attend your Lordship; I am only fearful lest the most shining sentences be blotted out when it comes to be corrected.

I wish you and your company good success in what you are about, but as I apprehend our House to be the place our enemies have most hopes to prevail in, so I recommend to you to take the requisite care that our friends come to town in time. Lord Cardigan has promised me to be here about this day sevennight. I heard to-day from Lord Poulett that Lords Denbigh and Leigh stayed in the country, ready to attend if sent for but not unless they had notice.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1711 ?] Wednesday morning.—My giving you the trouble of this letter is occasioned by the illness of poor Mr. Manwayring, and the desire I have of waiting upon your Lordship this evening, or to-morrow night, which may be most convenient to yourself, if you please to send two lines to Mr. Manwayring, I shall be sure to have it.

QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1711, .] Windsor, Wensday morning.—I give you this trouble to desire you would order two hundred pound to be given to Lady Sylvies, and one hundred to Mrs. Foil; the first of these has had a pention of a hundred pounds for some yeares past, but has not bin payde the two last, Masham can let you know where she lives, and I desire you would lett her have it as soon as you can conveniently, for she stays in town for it. I desire to that you would settle the Vice-Chamberlaine's buissnes and lett his additionall alowance begin from Midsummer, 1710.

For the Lord Treasurer.

Endorsed by Lord Oxford:—"Wendsday-Mony, Lady Silvies, Mrs. Foyle, Vice-Chamberlaine."

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to [the EARL OF OXFORD].

1712, March 29.—Having no opportunity to speak to your Lordship at your own house, and remembering you desired I would come to some resolution about Ireland to-day at farthest, since you are so kind to command me to speak my mind without reserve, upon the best consideration I am capable of I shall freely confess my inclination leads me rather not to go, though I shall always retain a just sense of your Lordship's favour in having me in your thoughts for an employment of such advantage, trust, and honour.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1712, May 1.—I remember last year the gentlemen of Worcestershire at first were only concerned that the Receiver for the Land Tax should be chosen out of their own county, and in that I joined, afterwards my Lord Plymouth and some others recommended the present Receiver who is altogether a stranger to me, but I did a little espouse his cause because I understood there was an endeavour from some neighbouring gentlemen, to get a Receiver out of another county. If the present Receiver has misbehaved himself I am sure I have no objection to his being changed, and nobody to recommend in his place, only hope

his successor may be a Worcestershire man, else I foresee the gentlemen will again complain that a hardship is put upon the county, as they suspected was intended last year; as to Shropshire I know nothing of the last, and have nobody to recommend for this year, if the old one be removed.

Her Majesty has hitherto been so extreme punctual in giving me half yearly what she was pleased to promise me at my first coming into her service, that your Lordship will pardon me if I take the liberty to acquaint you that the 14th of the last month half a year was due, I having had the honour then to serve two years.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to [the Earl of Oxford].

[1712, June,] Monday.—It seems to me highly necessary that Lord Strafford were immediately dispatched with instructions what to say in Holland upon this plan her Majesty has now so publicly laid before the Parliament. Port Mahon and especially Gibraltar should be secured, the last by sending a new governor.

If your Lordship thinks there will be any difficulty in electing a peer in Scotland in her Majesty's interest to fill Lord Marshal's [Marischal's] place you will think to get as many proxies as can be from the Scots peers in England, and remember Earls of Orkney, Dunmore, Dundonald, and perhaps others, are abroad and should be writ to.

If Sir William Windham removes from his employment to a better, I have found a way to discover that that place will entirely please Lord Cardigan, and I am really of opinion he would fill it very creditably. Therefore if your Lordship can get the Queen to bestow it upon him you may depend upon his being gratefully your servant, and I shall take it as an obligation to myself as well from her Majesty as your Lordship.

I believe your Lordship will resolve to adjourn the Parliament for about three weeks; if there be any truth in the advices Lord Privy Seal [the Bishop of London] sends from Holland, it will be highly necessary to have the Parliament at hand, and however one adjournment at least will be convenient to give you a little time.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

1712, August 6. Windsor.—You having told me you believed you should have some money this day I cannot help giveing you this trouble to desire if you have any that you would send me a bill for Coll. Desney, he being very impatient to be gon. Pray remember that care be taken to send to the Scots peers who are in Flanders for their proxies, and be assured of my being, &c.

For the Lord Treasurer.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

1712, August 20.—I give you many thanks for your letter and am very glad the election was caryed soe unanimous. I am very much obliged to Lord Mar and Lord Kinnoul for the pains they have taken, and when you writ I desire you would return them my thanks. I wish you would turn it in your thoughts against you com hither who it will be prosperest to give Lord Rivers's employments to. Duke Hamilton must sertinly have one, if it be General of the Ordnance I feare he may claime being of the Cabinet, and if he should I doubt one can't well refuse him becaus formerly those in that post have bin of it; but I will take no resolution in these matters till I see you.

I should be glad as soon as it can conveniently be done that you would order the arrears that are due to Prince Charles of Denmark to be payde, or at least half, for I know he is but in very indifferent circumstances.

For the Lord Treasurer.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

1712, October 4, Saturday. Windsor.—I am hartely sorry for your indisposition, but hope in God it will be soon over and that you will take more care for the future of your health, which is of soe great consequence to all your friends, and to none more then myself you may be sure.

I will turn my thoughts the best I can in case the Bishop of London should dye that his place may be well filled. My Lord Chamberlain writt to you by my order to send for Lord Strafford, but till one knows when he will be hear I cannot apoint a chapter [of the Garter]; therfore I desire my intentions may yet be kept a secret.

For the Lord Treasurer.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

1712, October 8, Wensday. Windsor.—I was very glad to find by your letter yesterday you weare soe much mended in your health; I pray God perfect it, and tho' I should be very glad to see you hear I hope you will not com till you can venture the journey without any hazard.

I have seen several letters from Lord Peterborow both to Lord Dartmouth and Lord Bolingbroke, but by them one can't guesse what humour he is in; I hope his Lordship will com right at last. Mr. Compton shewed me a Munday an order he had received from the Commissioners of accounts which I think a very unreasonable thing, and they may as well send for an account of the Secret Service or the Privy Purse as these charity pensions; besides to have an account of what money the poor Prince call'd for, for his own private use, layd before the Parliament would be very shocking to me, and in my poor oppinion very improper. Therfore I hope you will think of some answer to be sent to these

gentlemen that they may not expect their commands should be complyed with in this particular. I have nothing more to trouble you with at present, but that I am, &c.

Postscript.—I am a litle tormented with the gout in my elbow at this time, but els I thank God I am very well.

For the Lord Treasurer.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[1712, October,] Monday night.—When I attended her Majesty this evening she commanded me to acquaint your Lordship that she intended very soon a promotion of Knights of the Garter, and did desire you would immediately let Lord Strafford know he should be here as soon as could be in order to be elected. Lord Bullingbrook tells me a messenger goes to-morrow night for Holland so that I hope you will take that opportunity of writing to Lord Strafford, to hasten him over that he may be back again at Utrecht before the returns from Lord Lexington arrive, for then in all probability the Plenipotentiaries will have more to do there, than they have now.

QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1712, October 11, Saturday.—I am very glad you are better, and hope this fine weather will contribute to the perfecting your health. I thank God my pain begins to abate but I have had a great deal since I writt to you last, and am still far from being easy.

I must thank you for the trouble you have taken in makeing the Commissioners of accounts reasonable, for I beleeve without your interposition they would not have bin soe. I desire you would lett Lord Ballandin have two hundred pound as soon as you can conveniently, for I am assured by others as well as his mother that he is starving.

For the Lord Treasurer.

QUEEN ANNE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1712, October 17, Fryday. Windsor.—The occasion of my giveing you this trouble is that Lord Dartmouth told me last night Lord Strafford had desired him to writt to the Lords of the Admiralty that they should pay him the same respect as they did to Lord Orford which I think is not right, and therfore I wish you could hinder Lord Strafford from going to the board till I have spoke with him againe, for feare of any misunderstanding between them at theire first acquaintance. Hopeing for the satisfaction of seeing you to-morrow I will not trouble you with any more but assure you that I am, &c.

For the Lord Treasurer.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

1712, October 21, Tuesday. Windsor.—Last night Lord Dartmouth was with me to desire I would give him leave to go into the country for a little while. He made no complaints but seem'd very uneasy. I said all I could to perswaid him from going and desired him to consider of it againe, and to com to no resolution till he came to London. I fear he is determined not only in this but to quit, which I should be very sorry for, for I beleev him an honest man and I think it would be prejudicial to my service; therfore I hope you and his other freinds will endeavour to perswaid him out of these thoughts.

For the Lord Treasurer.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to [the Earl of Oxford].

1712, November 1. Windsor.---I believe it will be right to send both Lord Strafford and Mr. Prior away as soon as may be, but know not how either can return till the Queen has taken her resolutions about the proposal Mr. Prior came over with. I fear it will not be approved nor thought agreeable to her Majesty's speech to let the Elector of Bavaria remain master of a great part of the Netherlands.

I have been confined to my chamber ever since Tuesday morning, I am now lame but out of pain, much obliged by your Lordship's kind enquiry, and more than anybody your sincere, faithful, and affectionate humble servant.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

1712, November 5. Windsor.—Tho' it is three days since I heard from you I hope you will accept of my thanks for your letter and kind wishes for my health, which I thank God is in a pretty good state considering the badness of the weather. I hope yours has not suffered by that nor nothing els.

I had a vissit from Mr. Hamden on Sunday, who made very great proffessions, but I beleeve some thing must be thought on to do for him to keep him right. The Duke of Ormond was hear yesterday, I fancyed at first he seem'd a litle uneasy, but after talking some time he came into good humour; he coms of a solicitous famely, therfore care must be taken that he makes no unreasonable requests. The living that is vacant in Yorkshire is what I promised the Archbishop of York last spring to give to Mr. Drake whenever it should fall. Hopeing for the satisfaction of seeing you in a few days I will not trouble you with any more, only desire you would be soe just as to beleeve me, &c.

Postscript.—Pray enquire about the other hundred pound that you ordered for Lord Ballandin, for he sertinly had not received it last week.

For the Lord Treasurer.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

1712, November 13. Windsor.—I received yours this morning with a draught of a letter to the King of France which shall be ready to-morrow, and that I hope will be time enough since my Lord Strafford, who is to go at the same [time] Mr. Prior does, has not yet taken leave of me. Should not Duke Hamilton be hasten again, when I saw him last he talked as if he wanted several things for his journey; if that be soe care should be taken that he has no just prentence for staying. I am very glad the form of the renunciation is over in Spain. I think one may reasonable hope now the great work of the Peace is in a faire way of coming to a happy conclussion. When you com next pray order it soe that you may be hear by day light, and take more care of yourself, and be assured of my being most sincerely your very affectionate friend.

Postscript.—I wish you would give some orders before you com from London that Lord Abingdon may be payed for as yet he has received nothing.

For the Lord Treasurer.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

1712, November 21, Fryday. Windsor.—I give you many thanks for your letter and the kind consern you express for me in it. These accounts that are com of a designe against my person dos not give me any uneasynes knowing God Almighty's protection is above all things, and as he has hitherto bin infinitely gracious to me I hope he will continue being soe.

Since you tell me you intend to be heare to-morrow it is not necessary for me to say any more to your letter, and being going presently to take the air I must desire you to make my excuse to the two Secretaries that I do not answer theirs.

Postscript.—I wish you joy of your new cousin.

For the Lord Treasurer.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

[1712,] November 27, Thursday night. Windsor.—I have just now received your letter for which I give you many thanks, and am very sory anything I said on Teusday morning should make you think I was displeased with you. I told you my thoughts freely as I have always and ever will continue to do on all occasions. You cannot wonder that I who have bin ill used soe many yeares should desire to keep myself from being againe enslaved; and if I must always comply and not be complyed with, is (*sic*) I think very hard and what I cannot submit to, and what I beleeve you would not have me. I am very unwilling to put off the buisnes of the sheriffs till I com to London, but I hope if the roads will give you leave I shall have the satisfaction of

seeing you hear on Saturday, till when I shall trouble you nothing more.

Postscript.—I am sory the Duke of Ritchmond behaves himself soe strangely.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Oxford.

[1712, November,] Thursday.—I give your Lordship many thanks for the so quick despatch of your orders for my money, the sum being 1,500*l.* for equipage, and 1,300*l.* advance for my first quarter. Your Lordship will forgive me if I put you in mind that when first I resigned myself to her Majesty's pleasure in this particular, I told you as I desired never to be a gainer so I presumed it would not be expected I should be a loser by this employment. But my Lord I have now before me a melancholy prospect, an exact account of my Lord Jersey's expenses for eight months that he was at Paris—for he continued no longer—and they amount to above 10,000*l.* sterling whilst there, besides 2,000*l.* spent here in necessaries to carry with him; nor must it be computed that if he spent 12,000*l.* in eight months, I need spend only 6,000*l.* in four months, for much the greatest part of the charge is in the first setting out. Your Lordship will consider that my Lord Jersey was not sent on any particular occasion, was a very good manager, and upon many accounts would certainly save where it was consistent with his honour to do it, and it cannot be imagined that I can do less than he did. I do not send the particulars for fear they should be too tedious, but if for your information you have a mind to see them I have them ready. I know not what to offer on this subject, but submit it and my interest to her Majesty's generosity, and to your Lordship's goodness and friendship always showed to the most faithful of your humble servants.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

1712, December 2. Windsor.—I desired my Lord Dartmouth to tell you I did not thank you for your last letter becaus by what you said I thought you intended to be hear the midle of the week, but since he went I have heard soe much of the waters being higher than ever, that I can't help writting to-night to desire you would not com any time this week unless there should be occasion for a Cabinet Council, for I intend, an it please God, if the roads are passable, to be at St. James's next Teusday or Wensday.

If it be necessary that I should writt a letter of *cachet* besides that of credence by the Duke of Shrewsbury, I desire you would do me the fayvour to prepare a draught and send it time enough for me to copy it before it goes.

For the Lord Treasurer.

The Duke of Marlborough to [the Earl of Oxford].

1712, December 4. Antwerp.—I am got safe to this place, having avoided going to Bridges and Gant (*sic*). When I had the honour of seeing you last, I then told you the disappointment of Mr. Cadogan's company would hinder my going to Italy this season. Your Lordship's friendship in then promising me your assistance in getting him leave, makes me thus early beg that you will give my humble duty to the Queen, and that I may have this mark of her goodness towards me of giving him leave to be with me, which will be a great ease to me in my retirement. Finding myself very much out of order, I have written to Lady Marlborough to lose no time in coming to Aix-le-Chapel, by which I shall have the advantage of one month of the hot baths, which are as I am told as good in this season as in any time of the year, and from thence I shall go into Germany, and in the spring go to the Lake of Geneva, where I will take the best house I can get, in order to live as much retired as is possible. It will be a pleasure if I may sometimes hear from you, and particularly that you are so much master of your own actions that I may depend upon being easy and quiet at Woodstock, which I recommend to your friendship and care.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

1712-13, January 3, Saturday.—I am very sorry your indisposition still continues, and therfore not knowing when I shall have the satisfaction of seeing you, I must desire you this way to send me a few words that you think may be proper for me to say to the Duc d'Aumont when he coms to me. It is time now to com to some resolution about the Parliament, therfore pray lett me know your thoughts on that subject; and give me leave to putt you in mind of sending the proxies of the Scots peers to Scotland.

Postscript.—My Lady Masham told me she heard one of the chaises that are com out of France was intended to be given to her, do not take any notice of it to her but find out if it be soe and endeavour to prevent it; for I think it would not be right. I should not have trubled you with such a litle thing but for fear I might forget it when I saw you.

For the Lord Treasurer.

Characters of the Earl of Oxford.

1712-13, January 1.—A paper in Swift's handwriting and endorsed by him:—

"The Countess of ———'s Character of Lord Treasurer."

The character of the man whom the Queen delighteth to honour.

Ambitious to serve his country, and yet knows its faults.

He never will tear up his own bowels from despair, but will ever act and shew he expects a blessing from a superior Power for every wise action.

He appears to be dilatory not from want of the satisfaction to serve all, but to search out those with the fewest faults.

Proud only by disregarding his own greatness.

Forgives, and unmindful if his enemy repents.

He is civil to all, without an illjudged respect.

Careful of the public money, watchful to have that managed with faithfulness.

Concerned for its honour proved by weighing how to pay the debts rather by advancing its interest the . . . . . the whole.

Dutifully admires his sovereign, and if things go amiss, he would rather have it thought his mistake or anybody's than her's.

He adores God, he submits his doubts, endeavours to be perfect without presuming to hope for perfection.

He hates being commended, but must know he deserves it, reflecting his superiority cannot last without humility, ever, suspecting he may err.

Lives without fear and will die with true honour.

Comment by Dr. Swift.

1712-13, January 1.—The lady who drew the above character (of Lord Treasurer Oxford) is a person of as much good natural sense and judgment as I have ever known, and hath received all the improvements that Court and conversations of princes and other great persons could give her. Her advice hath many years been asked and followed in the most important affairs of state. Accordingly you see in this draft of hers an endeavour at something that is very judicious and uncommon; but her great misfortune was, that in her education she fell short even of that little share of reading which belongs to her sex, so that she has neither orthography, grammar, nor choice of proper words, which last never fails her in conversation, and in subjects she is conversant with. Besides there is a stiffness and affectation of something beyond her reach in what she writes. I think ladies thus qualified should never hold a pen but upon occasions of perfect necessity, or that when they do, they should employ some other hand to correct and put into English what they have to say.

Another paper in Swift's handwriting, annexed to the above, but without any heading or other explanation, runs thus:—"In this oppressed and entangled state was the kingdom with relation to its debts, when the Queen removed the Earl of Godolphin from his office, and put it into commission, of which the present Treasurer was one. This person had been chosen Speaker successively to three Parliaments, was afterwards Secretary of State, and always in great esteem with the Queen for his wisdom and fidelity. The late Ministry about two years before their fall, had prevailed with her Majesty much against her inclination to dismiss him from her service, for which they cannot be justly blamed, since he had endeavoured the same thing against them, and very narrowly failed; which makes it the more

extraordinary that he should succeed in the same attempt a second time, against those very adversaries who had such fair warning by the first. He is firm and steady in his resolutions, not easily diverted from them after he has once possessed himself of an opinion that they are right; nor very communicative where he can act by himself, being taught by experience that a secret is seldom safe in more than one breast. That which occurs to other men after mature deliberation offers to him as his first thought, so that he decides immediately what is best to be done, and is therefore never at a loss upon sudden exigencies. He thinks it a more easy and safe rule in politics, to watch incidents as they come, and then turn them to the advantage of what he pursues, than pretend to foresee them at a great distance. Fear, avarice, cruelty and pride are wholly strangers to his nature, but he is not without ambition. His detractors who charge him with cunning, are but ill acquainted with his character. For, in the sense they take the word, and as it is usually understood, I know no man to whom that mean talent could be with less justice applied, as the conduct of affairs while he hath been at the helm, doth clearly demonstrate; very contrary to the nature and principles of cunning, which is always employed in serving little turns, proposing little ends, and supplying daily exigencies by little shifts and expedients. But to rescue a prince out of the hands of insolent subjects, bent upon such designs as must probably end in the ruin of the Government; to find out means for paying such immense debts as this nation is involved in, and reduce it to better management; to make a potent enemy offer advantageous terms of peace, and deliver up the most important fortress of his kingdom as a pledge; and this against all the oppositions mutually raised and inflamed by parties and allies; such performances can only be called cunning by those whose want of understanding or of candour puts them upon finding ill names for great qualities of the mind which themselves do neither possess nor can form any just conception of. However, it must be allowed, that an obstinate love of secrecy in this Minister, seems at distance to have some resemblance of cunning; for he is not only very retentive of secrets, but appears to be so too, which I number among his defects. He hath been blamed by his friends for refusing to discover his intentions, even in those points where the wisest man may have need of advice and assistance; and some have censured him upon that account, as if he were jealous of Power, to which he hath been heard to answer that he seldom did otherwise without cause to repent. However so undistinguished a caution cannot, in my opinion, be altogether justified; by which the owner loses many advantages, and whereof all men who are really honest may with some reason complain. His love of procrastination (wherein doubtless nature has her share) may probably be increased by the same means; but this is an imputation laid upon many other great Ministers, who like men under too heavy a load, let fall that which is of least consequence, and go back to fetch it when their shoulders are free. For time

is often gained as well as lost by delay, which at worst is a fault on the securer side. Neither probably is this Minister answerable for half the clamour raised against him upon this article. His endeavours are wholly turned upon the general welfare of his country, but perhaps with too little regard to that of particular persons, which renders him less amiable than he would otherwise have been from the goodness of his nature, and his agreeable conversation in a private capacity, and with few dependents. Yet some allowance may be given to this failing, which is one of the greatest he has, since he cannot be more careless of other men's fortunes than he is of his own. He is master of a very great and faithful memory, which is of mighty use in the management of public affairs. And I believe there are few examples to be produced in any age of the world, of a person who hath passed through so many employments in the state, endowed with so great a share, both of divine and human learning.

I am persuaded that foreigners, as well as those at home who live too remote from the scene of business to be rightly informed, will not be displeased with this account of a person who in the space of . . . . years hath been so highly instrumental in changing the face of affairs in Europe, and hath deserved so well of his own Prince and country.

In that perplexed condition of the public debts which I have above described, this Minister was brought into the Treasury and Exchequer, &c."

Jonathan Swift to the Earl of Oxford.

1712-13, January 5.—I most humbly take leave to inform your Lordship that the Dean of Wells died this morning at one o'clock. I entirely submit my poor fortunes to your Lordship.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Oxford.

1713, January [8-] 19, n.s. Paris.—Upon my arrival here on the 13th I found the state of that affair which was more particularly recommended to me to negotiate altered from what I understood when I left London. Her Majesty by her last instructions tied me up strictly from allowing the French either to fish or to dry their fish upon any part of Newfoundland, in consideration of which she consented they should possess and fortify Cape Breton. Mr. Prior, upon several conferences he had with your Lordship and Lord Bolingbroke, as well as papers from those skilled in trade, was instructed to offer some expedients upon that Article, which he has done and sent them to London; so that till he has an answer to them it is evident what I propose or can agree to will not be regarded.

However in three conferences I have had with M. de Torcy, the same day and the day after I arrived, and the 17th at Marly, I used the best arguments of all kinds I could think on, and must own I found in him more stiffness than I imagined not to go beyond what Mr. Prior sent over on that head, alleging that to

quit entirely the fishery of Newfoundland would beggar three of their Provinces, and that they expect a loud clamour from those parts for the restraint they put on themselves by this last offer.

Your Lordship knows I have always confessed my ignorance in these matters, but shall give you my opinion. If the insisting on this article in the manner I am instructed be of great consequence to the British trade, it must be adhered to in the most resolute manner, and this Court given to understand they can have no peace without it, in which case your Lordship must write to Monsieur de Torcy in that positive style, but if the expedient you have from Mr. Prior, may be accepted without prejudice to our commerce, let us receive her Majesty's orders, and in either case let them be despatched without delay.

As to the heads of commerce Mr. Prior has also sent new papers, and writ now at large to Lord Bolingbroke, upon which nothing can be done till he receives an answer, I shall only repeat what I have said oftener than once, that if any very material point remains—as I doubt there does in the main article—the only way to get over it is to send immediately, to Utrecht or hither, some person well versed in trade, who can debate, and knows something of the state of their commerce as well as ours, for to one so ignorant as I am they affirm some facts and deny others that defeat all the arguments I could be master of in the small time I had to be informed upon a subject I had never thought on before in my life.*

I must not conclude without acquainting your Lordship that the 17th I was at Marly to wait on the King, and having given him her Majesty's letter, and made the properest compliment I was able, he expressed himself in the most handsome and respectful manner was possible to the Queen, earnestly desiring a perfect friendship with her, that it might be concluded speedily and last long, being sure that that was the interest of both nations. He seemed to value himself upon his punctuality in everything he had promised during this negotiation, and his submission to the Queen, especially in the affair of Tournay; he wished the rest of the allies would come into a peace, but if they stood out he hoped there would be no delay in concluding one with her Majesty. He then desired I would go speak with Monsieur de Torcy and recommended to me despatch.

All in this country, great and small, desire the peace and want it, the officers of the army I think as much or more than any.

Give me leave to conclude this long letter, with few words, but true, that I am, &c.

Sir Isaac Newton to the Lord Treasurer.

1712-13, January 29. Mint Office.—The Assaymaster of the Mint, Mr. Daniel Brattel, died yesterday about noon, and the place requires a man well qualified for skill and experience to

* At the end of this paragraph in the original letter is written in Bolingbroke's hand:—"Odd confession for a Secretary of State who was in office at the treaty of Ryswick."

carry on the assays of the gold and silver with a steady hand. Of this sort few persons are to be met with, and I do not know one better qualified than Mr. Charles Brattel, the brother of the deceased. In his brother's absence he has frequently acted for him in this service to the satisfaction of the officers of the Mint, so that we know his ability by experience. We are now in the middle of a coinage of gold, and for carrying on the service without interruption it would be convenient that a new Assaymaster were speedily appointed. It is a patent place with a salary of 200*l.* per annum, and 20*l.* per annum for a clerk.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Oxford.

1713, [February 26-]March 8.—I cannot forbear troubling your Lordship with a few lines to desire you will take the pains yourself to examine the justice and nature of our demand of the *Bona Immobilia*. If I understand the case right, I take it to be unprecedented, and such that if at any time her Majesty should yield or exchange a country, property is so concerned that it would not be in her power to do, without saving the rights of the particular subjects, and your Lordship will see when King Charles II. by the treaty of Breda—ever esteemed disadvantageous to England—gave up Acadie to France, he got such a saving clause as the French now ask. The decision, my Lord, is left entirely to her Majesty, and by what this King said to me I must do him the justice to declare, he submitted it in so handsome and respectful a manner, that I think the Queen's honour the more concerned to have the justice of the case well examined before it be finally determined. However, one way or other, I think I may congratulate your Lordship that the peace is made, in which if by good fortune I have any share, I must do Mr. Prior the justice to inform you, that I have been in so particular a manner assisted by his zeal, diligence and ability that I hope he will be immediately encouraged and countenanced by some mark of your Lordship's favour.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

[1712-13, February?] Munday morning.—This is to acquaint you that I have bin in soe much pain all night with the gout in both my feet that it is wholly impossible I can goe to the House to-day, therfore I must desire you to send emediately to Lord Keeper to prepare a commission for opening the Parliament, and when he brings it for me to signe I will give him my speech. I will speake the Dutchesse of Somerset as soon as I can conveniently, and have my letter ready to send to the Duke some time in the evening. If you have anything more to say to me on this subject or any other I desire you would send me an answer presently, and be assured of my being, &c.

For the Lord Treasurer.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to [the Earl of Oxford].

1713, [March 27-]April 6, n.s. Paris.—I understand Mr. "Vanbrugg" is fallen so much under her Majesty's displeasure that it is supposed he will be removed from his employment in the Works. I think myself obliged as much in respect to her Majesty's service as in justice to Mr. Thomas Archer to acquaint you that, impartially speaking according to my skill, he is the most able and has the best genius for building of anybody we have, and by my own experience dare assure you he is so perfectly honest that I am certain the Queen would save considerably if he were in that employment.

I mention this in case only that Mr. "Vanbrugg" be removed, and give me leave to add that this is a matter in which I will say with Sir Positive, if I do not understand it, I understand nothing, and as I can guess at all his competitors, viz. Mr. Talman, Mr. Wren, Hauksmere (Hawksmoor), &c. if I were with your Lordship I could give such objections to every one as would, I am confident, have some weight. At present I shall only say that if this be done for Mr. Tho. Archer it will be an obligation to your &c.

Assaymaster of the Mint.

1713, April 10.—Report signed by Cra. Peyton, Sir Isaac Newton and E. Phelipps on the qualifications of Mr. Catesby Oadham, Mr. Charles Brattel and other petitioners for the post of Assaymaster. They have caused trial to be made before them, and they consider that Mr. Brattel is the more expert and fitter person for that employment. Annexed is the Memorial of Brattel and copy of a recommendation of him signed by twenty-eight persons "having great concerns in the importation of bullion in her Majesty's Mint, and in buying and selling the same for foreign markets by the Tower assays," including Robert, Stephen and Francis Child and Richard Hoare.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Oxford.

1713, [April 21-]May 1, n.s. Paris.—Your Lordship having given me a letter of credit upon Mr. Cantillon, and there being due to me upon the 14th of April o.s. 1500*l.* upon the pension her Majesty is pleased to allow me, I shall in a few days take the liberty to receive that sum of 1,500*l.* here of Mr. Cantillon, and desire it may be understood that I design this as half a year of my pension, which with what I am able to spend out of my own estate and what else I receive of her Majesty as Ambassador or Chamberlain I am ready to lay out in this employment, and for what this falls short, I am not in pain about it, having both her Majesty's and your Lordship's [word?] it shall be made good to me.

In this busy time I expect no answer, and have only to add that I hope soon to have my audience of ceremony and make my compliments, and that then you will not leave me long in this country, where I confess myself heartily tired.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1713, May [2-]13, N.S. Paris.—It is with the greatest satisfaction imaginable that I receive assurances from your Lordship that both her Majesty and yourself are satisfied with my services in this place, that one reflection is more than sufficient to recompense all I suffer by being in a station I am conscious to myself to be many ways unfit for.

Your Lordship knows I have in England often commiserated the deplorable condition of the poor Protestants in the galleys, and am glad this King has promised that they shall be released. If I had had any notice I should have endeavoured at this Court to have got that promise as extensive as might be, and doubt not but those who have transacted this affair have had that care, and will take good information in order to see that promise fully performed. As to the *Bona Immobilia*, Lord Bolingbroke tells me I may assure these ministers that the subjects of France may expect the treatment they desire in that respect.

The Court is now at Marly, and remains there till a few days before Whitsuntide, so that opportunities of speaking with the ministers are now rare. But I am to meet Monsieur de Torcy next Wednesday at Versailles, where in the King's absence I design to spend two or three days to see that place at leisure, and will take that occasion to discourse Monsieur de Torcy as well upon the galley slaves, as the *Bona Immobilia*.

Your Lordship will find I do not so much deserve your praise as you thought, having drawn a bill upon you for 1,500*l.* sterling, the value of which I am to receive of Mr. Cantillon, but at the same time I acquainted your Lordship that I understood that sum was to satisfy half a year of the pension her Majesty is pleased to allow me, which half-year was due the 14th of April o.s., so that I count this money puts her Majesty to no extraordinary charge. Your Lordship will likewise be solicited for my bill of extraordinaries, my journey as usual, included with the transport of my goods, makes it so large, though not more than Lord Jersey's was. I suppose it is your Lordship's meaning that that and my allowance as Ambassador should be paid as customary in the Treasury, which if discharged punctually, I hope I shall not so much exceed, as I apprehended; but if I am not regularly paid there, I shall then be obliged to draw upon your Lordship to avoid the disgrace of running in debt here.

If Abbé Gaultier had cause to apprehend this Court was unsatisfied with him, he ought now to be convinced of the contrary, by the good abbaye they have lately given him. I have always observed Monsieur de Torcy speak very kindly of him, and as often as it lay in my way I have endeavoured to represent his services according to your Lordship's expressions of them, and agreeable to what I really thought they deserved.

I beg you, my Lord, to give my duty to her Majesty and most humble thanks for the leave she gives me to return. I hope to make my entry and have my public audience the week before

Whitsuntide, after which several visits of ceremony are to be made by me and returned to me; then I must take my leave, and the same visits are again repeated.

I heartily rejoice that her Majesty recovered her health in the bad season, the weather now growing warm I hope will perfect her recovery. To wish her life and health and happiness is no compliment, for all our happiness I am sure, if not lives, depend upon hers. After this prayer the next natural thought and my most sincere wish is long life and prosperity to yourself.

Postscript.—The Duchess of Shrewsbury is very sensible of the honour your Lordship does her in your most obliging remembrance, and is your very humble servant. She has never had a week's health in this country, and therefore joins with me in thanks for leave to come home.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Oxford.

1713, May [11-]22[N.S.]. Paris.—I understand by a letter from my Lord Dartmouth that there is some difficulty about allowing my bill of extraordinaries, the rule being not to exceed 400*l.* a quarter; I thought the custom had been to make allowances for journeys and other charges mentioned in my bill, and was confirmed in that opinion by one now with me, who attended on Lord Jersey in his Embassy here, and affirms to me that that Lord had those allowances, and has the particulars now by him as well of his expense upon his own journey, as of the transport of his goods, horses, &c., which amounts to about the same I have laid out, and he is positive it was allowed to Lord Jersey. Nevertheless if he mistakes, or if any new order has been made, I do not in the least press that a rule should be broken upon my account, but only desire that your Lordship will pass what is regular, and direct the payment of that sum as soon as conveniently you can.

My cousins the two Middletons having always had hopes given them that at the peace they might be entirely at liberty, grow, I believe, impatient, but are so sensible of her Majesty's goodness to them that they would press nothing might be disagreeable to her.

Postscript.—Your Lordship is pleased to tell me you will not forget Mrs. Bathurst, but give me leave, my Lord, to say, that I have lived in a Court too long not to know that if there were not some obstacle more than you own this trifle would not have stuck so long as it has. I flatter myself your friendship for me would have done it long before this, so that if there be an objection—I neither desire your Lordship to trouble yourself to remove it, nor to be told from whom or whence it comes—let me know only there is a difficulty and your Lordship shall have no further trouble in the matter. But to be kept on in these promises is their absolute ruin, therefore I earnestly entreat your Lordship to put an end to this affair one way or other.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1713, [June 29-]July 9 [N.S.]. Versailles.—A courier passing by from Barcelona to London, I would not omit this opportunity of observing to your Lordship that by the votes I see the Bill to make the 9th Article of Commerce effectual has stopped in the House of Commons; neither Mr. Prior nor I having the least intimation from anybody in what manner this affair has been transacted, we may be at a loss what to say upon it at this Court, where at present I do not find they are informed of the fact; but when they are, though I foresee they will be surprised at your being outvoted, I think they will not be much concerned at the loss of that Article, which I am confident was thought here very advantageous to England, but if the majority of the nation judges otherwise no hurt is done, provided the difference of opinion upon this point creates no heats that may have an ill influence for the future. I depend on your Lordship's good temper and judgment to prevent that fatal consequence.

The Duke of Bourbon and the Prince of Conti having made cross matches, and this day married each other's sister here at Versailles, these marriages have retarded my visits of ceremony to the Princes and ministers, which I hope now soon to dispatch, and then to have my audience of leave, which will be a private one at Marly, whither this King will go next Thursday and return no more hither till after his journey to Fountainbleau. I desire your Lordship to give order that what is due upon my last quarter as Ambassador may be paid to my agent, for till I have seen how far her Majesty's ordinary allowance will go, I am unwilling to draw upon you extraordinarily, and flatter myself I shall not be so expensive to her Majesty as I apprehended when I left England.

July 10th. When I had writ so far, understanding a courier was arrived from the Duke d'Aumont, I stopped our messenger till this morning that I might hear from Monsieur de Torcy what news their express brought, and what effect it would have upon their minds here. I am confirmed I was not mistaken in my guess. The chief thing they are alarmed at is the division in the party, and the apprehension that those who oppose this trade with France may object to the whole treaties of commerce and peace likewise. We endeavour to show them how one is no necessary consequence of the other, that the treaties in general may be approved, and yet the Parliament not be willing to make the 9th Article effectual upon the conditions mentioned in it. I hope it will not be long before we shall receive satisfactory information upon this subject, since some particulars which have happened of late may be supposed to give not only curiosity but uneasiness.

Upon the whole allow me, my Lord, to observe that mankind is so changeable a creature that if this session you find the Parliament disposed to give a sanction to the peace never defer it to another, for though to unbiassed men this will always appear the

most advantageous and necessary peace England ever concluded yet no man can foresee what turn faction, interest, malice, envy &c. may at one time give to the best of actions.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

[1713, July 5,] Sunday morning.—I am very sorry you continue soe much indisposed and therfore concludeing I shall not have the satisfaction of seeing you to-day I give you this trouble to enquire after your health and to lett you know that I find myself soe much tyerd with the litle fatigue of yesterday that it will be impossible for one to undertake that of going to St. Paul's; but however I think both Houses should go thither and I will perform my devotions at St. James's and be contented without a sermon. It is really very uneasy to me that I cannot go, which I hope all my friends beleeve. I think it will be best to declare this to-night, but would not make it publick till I had first acquainted you with it. If you think it necessary for me to send any other message to the two Houses lett me know some time this evening that I may give Lord Dartmouth orders about it. I must desire you to think of an answer for me to give to the House of Commons' address about the Pretender, which is to be brought to me to-morrow in the evening.

For the Lord Treasurer.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Oxford.

1713, July [7-]18, n.s. Paris.—I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter by Mr. Robarts, and shall serve him here in what lies in my power. I was glad to find he is not wanted in the House of Commons, having at this time so easily got leave to travel.

I have by this post sent to Lord Dartmouth my bill of extraordinaries for the second quarter, it amounts to near 550*l.*, but your Lordship will please to direct payment of as much only as is agreeable to the methods of the Treasury; I must repeat that if you immediately order me to be paid what is due to me as Ambassador, I shall have the less occasion to draw upon you out of course, according as your Lordship gave me leave, but it is a permission I will use as sparingly and as late as I can.

I suppose the Duke d'Aumont will have spoke to your Lordship in relation to what has passed upon the 9th Article of Commerce, in the manner I told you in my last. This Court seems disposed to behave themselves in that particular as they think will be most agreeable to her Majesty.

If your Lordship intends Mr. Prior should stay here any time as her Majesty's minister it is fit he should know it, and have money advanced to put himself in an equipage becoming his character. He lives now in hired lodgings dearer than a house, and not decent if he remains, but in the uncertainty he is left he can do no otherwise.

The Duchess of Shrewsbury is your Lordship's most humble servant and much obliged by your kind remembrance. She has never had a week's health at Paris.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

[1713, July 20, *endorsed by Lord Oxford.*] Munday.—I was very sory to hear by Lord Masham yesterday that you continued soe much out of order. I hope this will find you better and able to read without hurting your eyes. I wish you could speake with Lord Dartmouth some time to-day, for it will be impossible to deffer sending all my orders to the Bishop of Salisbury longer then to-night, he going out of town to-morrow morning. I beleeve Lord President will be very angry with me for letting the Bishop go out of town before the Chapter, but I think it is better not to be troubled with him there. I find Mr. Benson is very uneasy at his patents being deffered, therefore I think it would [be] better to stop it no longer, rather than disoblidg him at the same time I intend him a kindnes; but talk with Lord Dartmouth about this too.

I am very uneasy to trouble with a letter at a time when your eyes are so sore, but I thought it would not be soe proper to say these things any other way, and therfore I hope you will excuse your very affectionate friend.

For the Lord Treasurer.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

[1713, July 21, *endorsed by Lord Oxford.*] Teusday.—I am very sory you weare soe much out of order yesterday as to be confined to your bed. I feare you will not be able to beare the fatigue of the Enstalment next week, therefore I think it will be much better to putt it off till to-morrow seven night, and then there will be no hast of sending my orders to the Bishop of Salisbury. However, the sooner you can speake with Lord Dartmouth the better.

I signed Mr. Benson's bill last night, but did not think it proper to acquaint the Lords with it, becaus in my oppinion it would have given them a handle to prentend (*sic*) for the future to give me there advice what peers to make, everybody being too apt to encroch upon my right. I hope I shall have the satisfaction of hearing you are better to-day.

For the Lord Treasurer.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Oxford.

1713, August [1-]11, N.S. Paris.—Though what has passed of late on your side the water has given me much curiosity, concern and surprise, yet being wholly ignorant of the causes of it, and despairing to be better informed till I wait on your Lordship, I shall say no more at present, but that the election of a new

Parliament being very near, I hope all care will be taken to promote the interest of such who sincerely wish the good of their country, preferable to party and faction.

My stay here being short, and nobody named to relieve me, I imagine Mr. Prior is designed to be left, in which case I cannot forbear putting your Lordship in mind again that he ought to be upon some fixed establishment, and not upon the uncertainty he now is, which is expensive and not creditable for her Majesty. The handsome rewards the Abbé, who will deliver you this, has received from the Courts of France and Spain for his pains in the peace makes Prior, I believe, hope he shall not be forgotten. I understand Abbé Gautier carries over some plate and other goods for his own use, and hopes the Custom House officers will be civil to him. I do not doubt but your Lordship will give directions that they be as far so as is consistent with the duty of their employments.

Letters arrived this morning bring me the melancholy news of your Lordship's indisposition, for which I am heartily sorry, and ask your excuse for this unnecessary trouble.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

1713, August 21. Windsor.—I was very much surprised to find by your letter that, though I had told you the last time you weare hear I entended to give the Treasurer of the Chamber to Lord De Laware, you will bring me a warrant in blank. I desire you would not have soe ill an oppinion of me as to think when I have determined anything in my mind I will alter it. I have told Lord De Laware I will give him this office and he has kissed my hand upon it. Therfore when you com hither bring the warrant with his name.

As to what you mention concerning Lord Clarendon, Sir David Nairn, and the Councill of Trade, it will be time enough to take any resolution about them when I see you, and being in hast to take the air I can say no more of any other subject but that I am your very affectionate friend.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Oxford.

1713, August [12-]23, n.s. Paris.—I received the enclosed letter from the Marshal de Villars, I send you an extract of it, and have not made any mention of it to the Secretary. It seems to me as if that Lord were looking towards England, but of that—as I would advise you of everything that comes to my knowledge—I doubt not but you have a particular information.

I need not tell your Lordship that in this, as in most Courts, there are two parties; those who were least desirous of the peace, and in the making of it, at least, more biassed to the Dutch, are very busy in raising jealousies upon the delays in demolishing of Dunkirk. I have mentioned this already to Lord Dartmouth, and leave it more particularly to your Lordship's consideration.

Mr. Gillenghem goes home very well satisfied with what he has adjusted here, of which he will give your Lordship a more particular account.

Mr. Prior being, I suppose, to stay here some time longer, will, I believe, want some fresh powers, those which he has already relating only to the making the peace. I shall be at Calais about ten days hence, being impatient till I have the honour of seeing you, and assuring you how sincerely I am, &c.

Enclosure :—

Extract—

Marshal de Villars to the Duke of Shrewsbury.

Au Camp de Spire, le 13 Aoust 1713.—J'ay receu une lettre de M. le Duc de Marlborough, par laquelle il me demande des passeports, et pour retourner en Hollande, et pour voyager seurement avec des escortes, j'ay crû luy devoir repondre, que la Paix étant signeè, ratifiée et publiée entre nos Maistres, les Ambassadeurs des deux Couronnes receus magnifiquement dans toutes nos Cours, je ne pouvois m'imaginer, que M. de Marlborough et M. de Cadogan peussent avoir quelque chose a craindre de nos partys: mais dans le tems que M. de Marlborough et M. de Cadogan desirent la protection du Roy pour voyager seurement, les nouvelles publiques nous apprennent, que le Roy et la Reine vostre maistresse n'ont pas d'ennemis plus animez, je n'ay pas crû devoir leur accorder ce qu'ils desirent bienque la consequence ne m'en paroisse pas bien importante.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Oxford.

1713, August [18-]29, n.s. Paris.—I have been obliged to draw upon your Lordship for the sum of 2,000*l.*, one thousand to be paid at fifteen, the other at twenty days' sight. Bills came in faster at my leaving Paris than I expected, but at my waiting on your Lordship in London, which I hope will be in eight days, I shall give you a particular account of what I have spent, which as it will not exceed what I expected, I hope it will not dissatisfy you. The whole shall be submitted to your examination and pleasure, depending ever upon your friendship to one who is with great truth and respect &c.

The Same to the Same.

1713, August 24, in the morning. Dover.—I received the honour of your Lordship's letter on Saturday the day before I embarked; this moment I landed here, after a very smooth passage which lasted about seven hours. I am just taking coach and hope to be at London on Tuesday.

Dr. John Arbuthnot to Lord Harley.

1713, September 2. Windsor.—I hope your Lordship will excuse my presumption in taking the opportunity of this messenger to wish your Lordship much joy. If it were possible to enjoy so great a blessing as my Lady Harriott without the envy, and with the good will of mankind, I believe your Lordship does so, as for my own part I can say with truth, that I should not have had a much more sensible pleasure, if my own son had been the happy man. I have still another subject of joy which is that my Lady Harriot has eased my royal mistress of one of her cares, and that my Lord Treasurer's friends and humble servants will have the pleasure to see his posterity enjoy a plentiful fortune not erected upon the spoils of the public. On that score I declare my Lady Harriott our sister being a true *rewarder of merit*. But I ought to beg pardon of a young bridegroom for interrupting his more solid joys with such worldly reflections, as also for my long letter, and therefore I beg leave to wish the continuance of your present happiness.

It is a question amongst the learned at this time which is more happy your Lordship or my Lord De la War in his new place. Happiness depending upon opinion one would think it impossible to be more so than my Lord De la War is.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Oxford.

[1713, September 2] Wednesday.—I cannot let the messenger return without heartily congratulating with your Lordship, and with the young Lord and Lady, upon the conclusion of the match, wishing to all much and long happiness.

The enclosed was brought me from Lord Rivers, as I was told. If it be to the same effect with mine your Lordship will find something very unreasonable and impossible.

I long to see your Lordship, and think myself unfortunate to have been so long in England without that happiness.

Queen Anne to the Earl of Oxford.

1713, October 6. Windsor.—I am very sorry to find by your letter I received on Saturday last that your indispotion (*sic*) continued soe much as to hinder your coming hither, but I hope you are better now and will be able to bear a journey by the end of the week, and that the good weather coming again will complet your recovery. I have felt the sharp weather a litle in one of my feet, but I thank God it is prety well again now. There are several things I should speake to you about, but I think it is better to deffer them till I can see you, and therfore shall trouble you with nothing more at present but the assurance of my being &c.

For the Lord Treasurer.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Oxford.

1713, October 8. Windsor.—Understanding from her Majesty that your Lordship does not design to be here to-day, I take the liberty to put you in mind that my journey is so fixed for next Monday early in the morning in order to reach my own house the same night, that it would be extreme inconvenient for me to defer it. At the same time it will be absolutely necessary I should see the papers I mentioned to your Lordship and have some opportunity to discourse you upon them. If in order to this my coming to London to-morrow will be of use, your Lordship will be pleased to let me know it, and your own hour, if it could be such a one as I might return the same evening, it would be more convenient, but I shall comply with any time you appoint. If at the same time I receive your Lordship's answer the papers should be so ready that they might be sent me, I should have leisure to look them over and come better prepared to receive your Lordship's directions. I humbly entreat your answer to &c.

The Same to the Same.

1713, October 9, Windsor.—I have received the letter and book your Lordship did me the honour to send me, and find the last contains two establishments, one of the civil, the other of the military, payments, both settled in my Lord Wharton's government in 1709, without any new directions accommodated to the present time. The list of the officers upon half-pay is the same that was then, of which undoubtedly some are dead and others provided for; I have no list of the officers now to be kept on half-pay, or of those disbanded regiments whose officers it is expected should be maintained upon the Irish establishment, till they can be provided in that army, nor do I understand by this paper what number of horse, foot and dragoons are designed to be kept up in Ireland.

I shall want your directions about the pensions, of which I find no mention here, but hope when I have the honour to see your Lordship you will give me a list of them as now settled, and your orders thereupon, as also relating to the French Protestant pensioners.

The disposition of the Concordatum has been in some disorder, and, as I am informed, several small pensions charged upon it. I cannot think that fund by any means proper for annual settled pensions, and hope your Lordship will give me instructions in that and the other particulars before Monday.

I am truly sorry, my Lord, to hear the pain hangs so long upon you, and uneasy to give you any trouble at this time; yet I cannot forbear being impertinent out of my way, and telling you I heartily wish you would bring yourself into a method of keeping better hours. I know by experience that nothing is more prejudicial to a strong constitution, and more destructive to a weak one, than late hours of eating and sleeping.

Forgive this digression, which proceeds from my friendship to your person, and my sincere wishes for the welfare of England so much concerned in your health.

Paul Foley to the Duchess of Newcastle.

1713, October 20.—Since I can be no longer serviceable it is the greatest satisfaction to receive the favour of your assurance that I shall have your good wishes and any kindness in your power to do for me.

I cannot think anything your Grace does a slight to me when I reflect on the many favours you have been pleased to oblige me with, which shall always be remembered with a grateful acknowledgment.

As for what your Grace is pleased to mention in relation to Aldborough, I doubt not but you have been informed that Mr. Downey is chosen at Pontefract and at Aldborough, that he will make his election for the former, being a family interest, which will occasion another election at Aldborough. By the management of what your Grace gave me when I went out of town, with a considerable addition of my own, being a very expensive election on all sides, I have fixed the interest there in my own power for so long as I keep the notes which some are so sensible of that it is believed I can and your Grace cannot blame me if I do make the utmost advantage of it for my own benefit, and since your Grace has no other occasion for them but to be a voucher, you may assure yourself that and everything else in my power shall be ready for your service when wanting.

Give me leave to pray for your health and a happy deliverance from all your afflictions. I never served your Grace for the lucre of gain, but purely flowing from affection, and therefore hope it may be excused if out of the way of my profession I take all opportunities to serve you, and intend for the future to exclude myself from having anything to do in the cause on one side or another.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to [the Earl of Oxford].

1713, November 3. Dublin.—I did not intend to trouble your Lordship so soon, but that I find in this place a disposition more obstinate than I expected. The Council who have made such steps in the dispute about the Mayor, as your Lordship knows, have been little approved by her Majesty or her Council in England, are prevailed on here by some warm and leading men among them to think their honour is so concerned in supporting this matter that they will hearken to no expedient but that the Aldermen should accept one of the three they have already refused, and if they do not, supported by the opinion of most of these Judges, think the Mayor ought to hold over. The City who, to avoid confusion have not yet questioned the legality of the mayor and sheriffs continuing to preserve order for some

time, have now presented a petition to me desiring I would give some directions, for that their Courts stand adjourned, and they dare not proceed to the trial of criminals nor of actions of *meum* and *tuum* in the Courts whilst it is disputable in law whether the mayor can hold over or no. This difficulty seems weighty to me, who have heard both Lord Harcourt and Sir Ed. Northey assert that unless there be express words in the charter to give a Mayor such a power by law he cannot do it. But though I have told this to several of the Privy Councillors I cannot perceive it has any weight with them; they think the dignity of their board highly concerned to oblige the City to submit, which I heartily wish it were in my power to persuade them to.

I had laboured an expedient which I take to be the same her Majesty recommended, that the mayor should be prevailed on to go to a new election, propose two of his former men and another the City would accept; I added that he should be none of the seventeen the Council had made a vote against. This expedient was at first approved by the Chancellor [Phipps], but when I had brought the City with some difficulty to consent to let their seventeen be laid aside for this time the Chancellor went back, and told me the Lords of the Council were so averse to this as derogatory to their dignity (though I profess I cannot see in what) that he must plainly tell me he could not be for it, and was confident the Council would never consent to it. I believe there never was a case like mine, condemned already as in a Whig interest for following the orders of her Majesty and her present ministry.

It is certain that if this ridiculous dispute were adjusted we have the appearance of the easiest session for her Majesty's affairs that ever was, so that it can be nothing but the excess of folly, heat, or malice, for any of her Majesty's servants to keep up this dispute, which if not settled before the Parliament meets will embroil all.

I must deal plainly with your Lordship, and desire this may be communicated to her Majesty only. All in power here are so confederated and engaged upon this trifling point that there is not one of them I can open myself to, and I cannot help suspecting a design is laid to put all imaginable difficulties upon my Government to make it as uneasy as the last was, in which they had so considerable a share.

I have been very ill since I came, and the vexation of this usage has made me worse. I wish some of Lord Chancellor's friends would write to him her Majesty's commands plainly, for at present he seems to think nothing so valuable as the carrying this dispute against the City, by which he makes himself popular with the Lords of this Council puffed up with the same conceit.

Yesterday the Archbishop of Armagh died. It is of great importance not to dispose of this preferment before the end of the Session of Parliament, so I hope her Majesty will not be prevailed on to do it sooner; and in the meantime will be well informed who is the properest person to fill that see.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to [the Earl of Oxford].

1713, November 19. Dublin.—I return you my most sincere and grateful acknowledgments for your Lordship's of the 10th, and for the other letters you procured to be writ hither so speedily and strongly concerning the affair I applied to you upon. Your Lordship will, I doubt not, be surprised when I assure you they have not had the least effect here. This Council does not doubt but they are in the right, and that her Majesty and her ministers in England will be convinced they are so. In the meantime the Parliament which should have met to-morrow I have prorogued to the 25th by advice of the Privy Council. Then they must meet, the Whigs angry with me for not settling this dispute, though it is not in my power, but so outrageous against those they think the authors of it that if they have strength they will show their resentment.

It would have been in my power to have prevented all this, and brought them together in good temper, if I had had credit enough to have got her Majesty's and her ministers' directions executed; but as it stands I want words to describe the uneasiness of my condition, exposed to the censure of everybody if the business in Parliament miscarry, and yet without authority (unless in conjunction with the Council) to make those steps that would prevent it. But it is unnecessary to say more at this time. When I see in what humour the Parliament meets I shall trouble your Lordship further.

Queen Anne to the [Earl of Oxford].

1713, December 8. Windsor.—Whenever I see you I have soe many subjects to speak to you upon that I often forget something or other, as I did yesterday to desire you to order Mr. Darcy and Feilding some money on the account of my stables; and at this time that I am going to make liveries and new coaches you can not lett them have less than three thousand pound, and the sooner they have it the better it will be for my service.

Now that I have a pen in my hand I can not help desireing you againe when you com next, to speake plainly, lay everything open and hide nothing from me, or els how is it possible I can judg of anything. I spoke very freely and sincerly to you yesterday, and I expect you should do the same to her that is sincerly your very affectionate friend.

For the Lord Treasurer.

[The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Oxford.]

1713, December 22. Dublin Castle.—The state of our affairs here is so dismal that, having given some account of it in my letters to my Lord Bolingbroke, I have neither inclination nor health to repeat the same to your Lordship. I shall only say that the heats on both sides are such that little is to be expected from this session, nor at present from this Parliament; and

what is worse, if a new one were chosen I am confident the humour of the House of Commons would not mend.

My temper is so unfit to join with either of these parties that I hope her Majesty will recall me, and name some other Governor more fitly qualified for this tempestuous station, and who will reside here so as to make himself obeyed better than I have been able to do, even when I signified her Majesty's commands; for it being known I was only to stay here a few months I have made the figure rather of a Viceroy in a Play than of one who had the honour of her Majesty's patent.

I have so little prospect that more money will be given than the three months' impositions passed to-day that I hope your Lordship will be thinking how to reduce the Establishment so as to subsist on the revenue. There is no more probable way of bringing these people to some calmness than to show that the Queen can support her Government without them, and that if she asks more money from them it is for their own good and security.

I entreat your Lordship to give my most humble duty to the Queen, and assure her I am truly afflicted that I have not been able to serve her better. I flatter myself she will have the goodness to think I have not wanted good-will, whatever other defects I have had. I am ever most faithfully your &c.

Dr. John Radcliffe to —— Morley.

1713[-14], January.—If you are at leisure I should be glad to have the favour of your company this night, being all alone, but I hope you will not fail according to your promise to be here to-morrow at dinner between three and four, and a friend or two of yours will be here to wait upon you to remember the Phenix, for I find there is but one of the kind. I hope nothing will prevent us of enjoying your good company, which is so very esteemed and desired by him who is &c.

"These to Mr. Morley present."

The Duke of Marlborough to the [Earl of Oxford].

1714, January 29. Antwerp.—I know not by what accident, but I had not the favour of your Lordship's letter of the 25th of the last month, old style, till last Friday, so that it was three weeks coming hither. I have taken the first opportunity of returning you my thanks for the orders you have given, as also for your obliging assurances, and as I have resolved to do it in a more particular manner by Mr. Cadogan I shall end this with the assurances of my being &c.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Oxford.

1713-14, February 2. Dublin Castle.—Yours of the 14 January, which I received last night, has much surprised me, to find that two of your Lordship's letters to me should miscarry. Would

it not be worth enquiring where such a failure has lain, which I much suspect not to be accidental twice together, because I have not observed since I have been here to have wanted any other letter; and I believe it is new that two letters together from a Lord Treasurer of Great Britain to a Chief Governor of this kingdom should miscarry when every private man's letter is safely delivered.

It never was my thought, much less my intention, to attempt putting the administration of this kingdom into other hands than of Tories. But as I was and am now more convinced the Whigs have the majority in the House of Commons I apprehended there needed greater management with them here than in England, where the case is different.

If in that unlucky dispute about this City I had prevailed at my first coming with the Council to have come to any expedient—even to that which this Chancellor first proposed, and employed Sir Jo. Stanley to negotiate, but retracted after it was accepted by the City—if this point only could have been settled, many of the Whigs promised me their vote for the Speaker, which would have been a good beginning of the Session, and showed them I had some interest to protect them from the hardships they pretend to fear from a man they have incensed. But instead of that the Privy Councillors met in numbers, as I am informed, and entered into engagements not to depart from a tittle of what they had determined. And from that time it was the public discourse here that it signified little what opinion I was of, since little regard would be had to it in England; that I was to stay but some weeks, and then the government return into the Chancellor's hands, who had the secret of the ministers. All this has been confirmed by that very Bishop [Lindsay] being made Primate which Lord Chancellor's intimates reported was to be several posts before the letter arrived; though I had proposed one should be sent from England, and named the Bishops of Hereford or Chester, or Dr. Smalridge. This opinion was again confirmed by the Council in England altering their mind in the dispute with this City and is now so fixed in everybody of both parties that, as none think I am able to serve them, none apply to me, and I am incapable of doing any service, under the opinion the two parties have conceived of my small credit at Court.

I am glad I mistook and that there have been no thoughts of taxing this kingdom from England. It then remains to consider whether the savings your Lordship shall direct shall be such as might be proper if you had a prospect of a Parliament soon to sit, and pay off the debt contracted, or such as must reduce the establishment to the revenue, so as the Government may subsist some time without a Parliament. I shall soon lay before your Lordship my thoughts upon that subject when I have made some necessary enquiries.

I believe everybody begins to be now of opinion that if a new Parliament were called it would not be of a temper (especially

about Lord Chancellor) different from this present House of Commons. The wisest of the Whigs confess they have gone too far and too fast, and know not how to go back, and flatter themselves the Queen will not make her own business and (as they term it) the greatest part of the kingdom uneasy for one man, whom she can easily remove to his advantage, and place another in his room, a Church man by principle, with whom they pretend not to doubt they should agree. I have shown them how their own proceedings have made this less probable to succeed.

William Jackson to [the Earl of Oxford].

1713-14, February 12.—With this I send your Lordship's arms engraved with a coronet prospective, and all different from what is usual. I have left a vacancy for the motto and the inscription.

I have had the misfortune of having some time ago a boil under my eye, which turning to an incurable humour it is judged by several able physicians and surgeons, and even by Mr. Serjeant Dickings, to be the King's Evil; but it being too difficult to have the royal touch, I humbly implore your Lordship's recommendation to Mr. Serjeant Dickings to grant me a ticket, her Majesty being to touch next Monday at Windsor.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Oxford.

1713-14, March 2. Dublin Castle.—Sir Richard Leving being obliged to go into England upon some business relating to his own family I take the liberty to give your Lordship this trouble by his hands, and as he is well informed of the state of our affairs here, hope you will at your best leisure give him an opportunity of acquainting you with some particulars and circumstances which can much better be explained in discourse than in letters; I think it a justice due to his behaviour to testify for him that, to the best of my observation, he has acted with great duty to her Majesty, and, in the station he is, with ability in her service.

Hoping it will not be long before I shall wait on your Lordship in England, and, having no letter from you since the 26th of January, which I answered the 2nd of February, I shall at present give you no further trouble than to assure you that I am &c.

Ade[lhida], Duchess of Shrewsbury to [the Earl of Oxford].

[1714, July 30. Kensington.]—The Duke of Shrewsbury being at Council I have obeyed your Lordship's command in opening your letter and can assure you I never in my life saw my Lord in so much concern as the other unfortunate day. The Queen is as ill as she can be, and the physicians have but little hopes. I don't doubt my Lord will want both your counsel and assistance, and has been prevailed upon, I imagine, with this hope, but I would with all my heart you was in still. About coming or

not I cannot pretend to say what is better, only I shall let your Lordship know that almost everybody comes to enquire how the poor Queen does, but I imagin the Duke of Shrewsbury will as soon as he can answer your kind letter.

My Lord, in my particular, nobody is more your servant and very good friend than &c.

Endorsed by Lord Oxford as received "July 30, 1714, past nine at night."

JOHN PLUMPTRE to the DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE.

1714, September 3. [Nottingham.]—I humbly hope your Grace will pardon this manner of address which I have chosen at present rather than to wait on your Grace in person, because my business being a petition, the grant of which I dare not presume to depend upon, I think it most becoming the respect and regard due to your Grace, that, in case I cannot have your Grace's favour, I should spare you the disturbance which great and generous minds feel when they are forced to deny a petitioner to his face.

I am so importunately pressed by my friends here to offer myself again as a candidate for this town at the approaching elections for a new Parliament, that I cannot refuse them without incurring the reproach of abandoning them and giving them up. 'Tis a great honour I receive by their pitching upon me, but very incomplete, if I must labour under the discountenance of your Grace, to avoid which, as much as in me lies, I here humbly apply myself to you. I confess I have just cause from other reasons, as well as my own want of merit, to apprehend a denial, but the fear of that is nothing in comparison with the dread I am under on the other hand of doing anything slighting or disrespectful to your Grace, which my not applying to you at all upon this occasion would have the appearance of. I beg therefore that your Grace would please to put a favourable construction upon this letter.

[THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to the EARL OF OXFORD.]

1714, December 3.—Some business has happened which will make it impossible for me to attend your Lordship upon my Lord Rivers's concerns today or tomorrow, any other time you will appoint I shall be ready either morning or evening.

I should always have been ready to have seen your Lordship whenever I had thought it convenient, notwithstanding what you mention. If you should appoint Sunday in the evening I desire it may be at your house, mine being that day crowded with company to the Duchess of Shrewsbury, who is your humble servant, as I most sincerely.

THE BARONESS KIELMENSEGGE to the [EARL OF OXFORD].

[1714, December 22.]—"Vous seres surpris que sans avoir l'honneur de vous connoitre, je prenne la liberté de vous faire une priere. Vous aves une cour proche de ma maison qui m'empeche

la communication dans le jardin de St. James, ou mon mari et moi voudrions bien quelquefois prendre l'air. Je vous demande donc en grace de vouloir permettre que j'y fasse faire un passage. Vous vendrés ce terrain lá sans doute avec la maison, mais comme cela ne sera pas fait si tot vous m'obligerés fort de me permettre d'avance de faire faire ledit passage. Si vous voulés avoir la bontè d'envoyer quelqu'un de vos gents, je leur montrerai l'endroit, et ils pouront vous expliquer plus clairement le fait que je ne puis le faire par lettre. Si vous voulies vous defaire de ce petit terrain je l'achetterois voluntiers."

[*Endorsed by Oxford:*—"Madam de Kielmensegge, Dec. 22, 1714. Answered that evening."]

The Duchess of Newcastle to Art. Colclough.

1715, March 28.—My great thanks for the favour of your letter by Sir Garvis, my health was so bad that I could not go more than twice to London, though business brought me so near by my enemies' means, they hoping to shorten my life, which is now their whole design.

In answer to that you write, if I know myself, I am determined to get my right if justice be not out of England, therefore will try to the last. You have heard me often declare I valued my honour far beyond my interest, therefore shall never own my right to be another's, which I must do by that you propose making good their pretended agreement by which Harley takes from Pelham my estate as a gift from Pelham, which estate I will defend to the last coat on my back. That above mentioned the Harleys hath endeavoured ever since the wicked marriage. The proceedings of that crew shall never be mine, nay, the more they appear in such shapes, the further off they shall find their design they pretend to take effect. Their treatment of me is every day more and more notorious, visible to all persons that will see and hear as well as I that feels their unjust brutishness. Therefore must beg all that will be my friends never to name the Harleys nor their allies to me, they giving me hourly reason to abhor them.

The Duchess of Newcastle to —— Gace.

1715, April 9. Welbeck.—I received your letter of the 2nd instant directed to my house at London, whereby I know you had neither my letter from Welbeck when I went towards London, and another I sent to you to inform you of [my] return to Welbeck, where I have been above three weeks. I never doubted your justice, therefore had no uneasiness when I did not hear from you, believing you had not time from other business; to hear it was from want of health I will assure you is a great trouble to me who wishes you, &c., all health and happiness; as to the tenants, as you told the tenants, I shall do nothing more than give wood if upon the premises, which if not satisfactory, I desire you will provide such as will. You know I have no pretence in that estate but my life, though in the rest in that county

I have, therefore shall be at no expense, by reason both Harleys and Pelham are such as I shall not be concerned, for whoever have the right neither thereof having yet made out any title but does all in their power to keep off all hearings of matter of fact, both believing they may tire me, in which they may find their politic will prove abortive. I doubt not but you hear I am like to be "least" from one of my enemies, which is almost death to the other, hoping to be able to torment me when they both joined, though in so childish a way that makes all reasonable people laugh. The gold stand and kettle given by both is no news to you, being known and discoursed of in all this nation.

The Duke of Newcastle, Lord Chamberlain, to the Earl of Oxford.

1717, July 2.—I am commanded by his Majesty, in as civil a manner as I could, to acquaint your Lordship that it is his Majesty's pleasure that your Lordship should not come to Court till you have his Majesty's leave. I hope your Lordship will do me the justice to think that what I have done is in obedience to the orders I have received from his Majesty, being with great truth &c.

The Earl of Oxford to the Duke of Newcastle.

1717, July 2.—I have this moment received the honour of your Grace's letter, containing his Majesty's commands that I should not come to Court. I do assure your Grace that I will obey with the utmost duty and punctuality.

I am extremely sensible of your Grace's great civility, and am with the greatest respect &c.

Draft in Lord Oxford's handwriting.

Jonathan Swift to Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford.

1717, July 9. Dublin.—Since I am sure no event can have any power upon your mind, I cannot help believing that during this glorious scene of your life (I do not mean your discharge, but your two years' imprisonment) you have sometimes found a minute to remember an inconsiderable man who ever loved you above all things. I write to you from an imagination I have always had, that as soon as you were freed from your jailers, you would retire for some months to Herefordshire, and that I should be a companion in your retirement. Therefore if you have any such thoughts, I beg you will command me to attend, for I have many things to say to you, and to enquire of you, as you may easily imagine. You will forgive me if I talk ignorantly, for perhaps you intend to live in town, or pass the summer with my Lord Harley, or perhaps (as some refiners say) you are again to be a minister. In any of these cases, all I have said I desire may go for nothing, and I will wait your leisure. However, pray let me know as soon as you can by a line from yourself. I will trouble you no more at present.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Oxford.

1717, August.—Some business has happened, since I had the honour to see your Lordship, so unluckily that I cannot possibly come to London before Wednesday, upon which day I shall be ready to attend your Lordship at my own house at five, and endeavour to get my Lord Rochfort to meet you, unless I hear from your Lordship or Lord Barrymore to the contrary. Pray, my Lord, be punctual to the hour, and let Mr. Dixon know this alteration.

The Earl of Oxford to his granddaughter, Lady Margaret Harley.

1723, October 21.—My dearest grandchild. A little indisposition hindered me from thanking my dearest Peggy for your kind letter of the 13 instant. My love to you may inform you how acceptable any expression of your kindness is; the oftener I hear from you my pleasure will be the greater, because I shall find every time proofs of your improvement. I choose to write to you upon this day, it being the birthday of my father and your great grandfather, that it may put you in mind never to do anything unworthy the stock you are descended from in your whole life, which I pray God may be long. I will tell you that my father had the courage and firmness of my Lord Vere, your excellent mother's great grandfather and my father's uncle. To this may be added, he had the sweetness, gentleness, and piety of my Lady Vere, his aunt, godmother, and your mother's great grandmother. This I mention to you, my dearest child, for your information, but for your instruction you have the example of your excellent mother and father, who are shining patterns for you, which I hope you will imitate and copy. This is the best wish can be put up to God for you by

Dearest Grandchild
Yours, &c.

Jonathan Swift to Edward, Second Earl of Oxford.

1724, November 27. Dublin.—I am very happy in the honour of your Lordship's remembrance, and the many marks I have had of your favour, neither was I at all uneasy at your Lordship's delaying to let me hear from you, because I learnt from others that you and my lady were in good health, and I knew your silence did not proceed from any change in your good disposition towards me. I never knew any person more hardly drawn to write letters of no consequence than my late lord your father. It was very seldom I got a scrip from him, and yet I never lost the least ground in his favour and kindness.

What I had intended in relation to my late Lord Oxford was both some memoirs of his life and ministry and likewise to make him have a great part in a History which I wrote in England, and which his Lordship and the rest of the ministers had read, but by some accidents was not printed, and I propose to make in it several alterations and additions.

I have many years frequently resolved to go for England, but was discouraged by considering what a scene I must expect to find by the death and exile of my friends, and a thousand other disgusting circumstances; and after all to return back again into this enslaved country to which I am condemned during existence (for I cannot call it life) would be a mortification hard to support.

However that kind invitation your Lordship hath pleased to give will I hope rouse up my spirits; but there is another inconvenience from which I ensure your Lordship for forty years to come, and then you must look to yourself. I mean the want of health. I have the honour to be afflicted with the same disease with your Lordship's father, frequent fits of deafness, and at present I labour under one which hath confined me two months, and hath worn out my patience, fearing I shall never recover it; in such a case I must confine myself to my deanery house and garden, converse only with treble and counter-tenor voices, and turn a speculative monk. I should not have troubled your Lordship with relating my own infirmities, if they were not an excuse for not immediately obeying your Lordship's commands to attend you.

I return you my most humble thanks for your promise of my late Lord Oxford's picture, but that alone will hardly serve your turn, if ever I have the honour to see you again. In the meantime, since your Lordship pleases to ask me the question, I desire it may be a three-quarter length, I mean below the knees.

I must be so bold to return my most humble respects to my Lady Oxford, and my sincerest thanks for the honour of being remembered by her Ladyship.

My unconversable disorder hath hindered me from seeing my old friend the Lord Lieutenant, from whom I never received since his arrival any more than one dry message. He hath half frightened the people here out of their no understandings. There is a fellow in London, one Wood, who got a patent for coining half-pence for this kingdom, which hath so terrified us, that if it were not for some pamphlets against these half-pence, we must have submitted. Against these pamphlets the Lieutenant hath put out a proclamation, and is acting the most unpopular part I ever knew, though I warned him against it by a letter before he came over, and thought by his answer that he would have taken my opinions. This is just of as much consequence to your Lordship as the news of a skirmish between two petty states in Greece was to Alexander, while he was conquering Persia, but even a knot of beggars are of importance among themselves.

I doubt Mr. Pope's voyage into Homer-land will bring more profit than reputation, and I wish his fortunes could afford him to employ his own genius. I have been told this voyage is to supply what he lost by a former into the South Sea.

I have tired your Lordship, and will abruptly conclude by professing myself with the truest and greatest respect etc.

P.S.—I shall desire a gentleman to attend your Lordship for the ring, which I value more than if it was from the greatest prince in Europe.

Dr. John Arbuthnot to Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford.

1726, November 16. London.—I am sorry the bad weather allows your Lordship so much time for study in the country, though I reckon that even in the most serene day one can hardly leave Guliver (*sic*). There has been a vast demand for Guliver, the first impression was sold off in a moment, everybody has been mightily delighted with him. I had the honour to wait on her Royal Highness when she had just come to that passage of the hobbling prince, which her Highness laughed at. Ministerial folks say the book is a pleasant humourous book and it was pity he descended so low, as some little satire, that is too particular; some folks that I know went immediately to their maps to look for Lillypott and reckoned it a fault in their maps not to have set down. Lord Scarborrow met with a sea captain that knew Guliver, but he said the bookseller was mistaken in placing his habitation at Rotherith for he was sure he lived at Wapping. In short the book has made very good diversion to all the town. It was not possible for me at this time to send the Ballad, but your Lordship shall have it; there are a hundred incorrect copies of it about town. I have just now transcribed the substance of the paper of Quadrille. I fancy there will be some comical papers about Guliver. I have seen a pretty good epistle from Guliver's wife to him in the style of Ovid. I happen to be so unlucky as to have twenty things to do this moment, else your Lordship should have had the Ballad, and for the same reason I hope you will be so good as to forgive this hasty and hardly legible scrawl.

The Same to the Same.

1726, November 23. London.—I am come home so late that I have only time to thank your Lordship for the honour of yours, and to keep my promise by enclosing the Ballad, the only copy that I have. I hope your Lordship will see some copies of verses with the next edition of 'Guliver.' This with my wishes for your Lordship's health and prosperity and your speedy return to town is from yours, &c.

J. Gay to the Same.

[1727-8, February 12.]—I was last night to pay my duty to your Lordship, and to thank you for interesting yourself in so kind a manner in my behalf. I had heard before that the King and Queen were to be present at "Julius Cæsar" on Friday, so that my intention was to acquaint your Lordship that I had fixed on Thursday. As to the boxes on that day, I fear by what I have heard about the town they are taken up already, but if your Lordship would be so good as to send a servant to the box-keeper, I hope I shall have the honour of Lady Oxford's presence in the very box she chooses, for I know Mr. Rich would upon all occasions be very glad to oblige your Lordship.

Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford, to Dean Swift.

1728, July 27.—It is now complete two months since I received the favour of your letter, and a very great one I esteem it, and also some medals which were of use to me in my collection, please to accept my thanks for them. Mr. Clayton has been going this six weeks, which was one reason of my not writing, and I think I should not give you the trouble of two letters upon the same subject resolving to write by him whenever he went. I have heard some kind of whisper as if the Dean of St. Patrick's would be in England this winter. I wish he may, but it is too good news to be true, I fear. Mr. Pope stands by himself *Athanasius contra mundum*. There is never a newspaper comes out but he is favoured with a letter, a poem, an epigram, even to a distich, from the numerous herd of dunces and blockheads that are in and about London and the suburbs thereof. I saw him the other day, he is as to his health much the same as you left him, he has at last taken a resolution of going to the Bath this season. I hope it will be of service to him. My wife and Peggy are much your humble servants. My wife goes this next season to the Bath. I hope it will do her good for the badness of her stomach. I hope this will find you very well wherever it be, for I hear you often make excursions into the country. I shall be glad to hear that you are free from your deafness you complained of when you went out of England last.

Voltaire to [Edward, Earl of Oxford].

[1728,] In Maiden Lane at the White Wigg, Covent Garden. —Tho' I am a traveller unknown to your Lordship the name of "Harlay" has been for many centuries so glorious among us French, and the branch of your house settled in France is so proud of the honour of being nearly related to your Lordship, that you must forgive the liberty of this letter.

I have written and printed here a book called the "Henriade," in which one Harlay of your house acts a most noble part, and such a one as you should be acquainted with.

For my part, having been in some measure educated in the house of the late Achilles de Harley, the oracle and the first president of our Parliament, I should be wanting to my duty if I durst not trouble your Lordship about it, and beg the favour of waiting upon you before the book comes out.

I expect to know when I may wait upon your Lordship.

I am with much respect &c.

Jonathan Swift to Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford.

1738, April 3. Dublin.—I have a long time been under a difficulty of safely sending five medals to you, two of which were of the twelve Cesars, and the rest of those Emperors who succeeded near them, because I know your Lordship hath a curiosity in this polite part of knowledge. They were found in a

very old churchyard of this city, and as it belongs to me in some manner, the minister of the church being my chancellor (Doctor Delany), they were sent to me, gratis, although I expect fifteen pence for them. However, on account of your poverty, I will take only a shilling. You will find that we in Dublin had Roman medals as well as you. This will be at least a motive, that your old acquaintance is still alive, as well as your lady, from whom I have received more marks of friendship and condescention than from any of you all. I hourly brag of her favours, and shew them to all my visitors. A worthy gentleman of this kingdom, Mr. Richardson, a member of our Parliament, will deliver you these, and your Lordship who condescended to see Faulkner the printer, will know how to distinguish the bearer of this. You must send me an answer, and my Lady Oxford must subscribe three lines at least. I am now good for nothing, very deaf, very old, and very much out of favour with those in power. My dear Lord, I have a thousand things to say, but I can remember none of them. I will hold you no longer than while Mr. Richardson stands by you. My humble respects to the Duchess, I hope she hath not forgot me. I hope you see my friend Mr. Lewis often, he complains of age as well as myself; *tempora mutantur*. Does the Duke of Ormond come over, so it is here reported? What is become of Mr. Thomas Harley, and of Mr. Edward, and his son or sons? Are you and my Lady Oxford in full health? Pray tell me everything relating to you and your family.

E[DWARD] YOUNG* to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1740, August 25. Tunbridge Wells.—"I was extremely ill when I writ my last letter, and whether it was intelligible to your Grace I cannot tell. My fever has left me under great weakness, for which I am advised to drink these waters for a fortnight longer; if it will be then convenient to your Grace to admit an invalid into so happy a society, I shall pay my duty at Bullstrode with the greatest pleasure. The inducements your Grace is pleased to mention are very great, but none is greater than the satisfaction I shall take in paying my thanks for the honour you do to one so entirely unentitled to it. Madam, I rejoice that the little innocents enjoy that health which they cannot yet have possibly forfeited by their crimes; the contrary of which is generally the sting of those that suffer in a more advanced age.

"I beg my humble duty to his Grace, and my humble service to the lady that is with you; nor must she take ill my liberty in doing so, for, whatever she may imagine, she is no stranger to me, which I shall explain when I see her."

E. YOUNG to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1740, September 10. Tunbridge Wells.—"I have the unhappy advantage of very sensibly condoling with your Grace on your present complaint, labouring under the same myself, from a violent cold, which the badness of the season has made

* Author of *Night Thoughts*, etc.

here an almost universal complaint: the excessive rains have washed away all our company, all I mean that came for pleasure; they that came for health are still fishing for it in these waters; but the waters themselves now begin to be out of order, so that I fear I shall scarce find what I sought. But I hope your Grace's park may give what the wells deny me, for my physician tells me that steel and riding are my only cure."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1740, October 13. Ditchley.—"I thank your Grace for the late favours I received at Bulstrode: my health, I thank God, is much better than before, but whether it is owing to the air, or the conversation, I shall not take on me to determine.

"It is somewhat odd, Madam, that I should be better acquainted with Miss Robinson since I left her, but to unriddle, I have met a confident of one of her admirers, who tells me his wounded friend is in a very melancholy way; but as he is a soldier, he is determined to behave in character, and rather to fall than fly. Your friend, Madam, alone can tell whether 'tis advisable for him to make his will.

"I hope, Madam, the little ones are as well as you wish them, and your Grace as well as you deserve to be."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1740, November 7.—"I am much obliged to your Grace for the honour of your letter, and still more for your desire of a reply. If your Grace designed only a compliment by it, you are fairly bit, for I am determined to think you sincere, and to value myself upon it accordingly.

"As for Miss Robinson, I am as much surprised at her ignorance in the particular I mentioned, as I am at her knowledge in general; both, I am satisfied, are very extraordinary. However, I have taken the hint she gave about providing against accidents; and a friend has written to the gentleman at ———— that he should set his house in order with all convenient expedition.

"I am heartily sorry for Mr. Hay, and hope this will find him perfectly recovered.

"I am, Madam, much obliged to my Lord Oxford for his kind remembrance of me; and as for the little ones, your Grace loves them, but I do more; I consider children as the next order of beings to the blessed angels; spotless innocence is next in place to perfect virtue, and I shall very shortly fly to their protection."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1740, November 25. At The 3 Golden Lions by Temple Bar.—"Your Grace may be assured I should be glad to be out of debt, but is it possible your Grace can accept a letter from me in full for all demands? I am therefore determined not to write: for is this writing? Your Grace's correspondents give you a very different idea of it; Heaven has blessed you with excellent

accomplishments, and with a relish for them in others; insomuch that it is scarce a greater happiness than it is a reputation to be among the number of your Grace's friends.

"I know but one instance where your good nature has imposed on your understanding, and if your Grace—which would be hard—should be reproached for a single fault, you are sure of me for your advocate, who am the only gainer by it; but though, Madam, I cannot add to the brilliancy of your letter-box, I can add to the variety of it. I present your Grace with a letter, which stands eminently distinguished for* all the rest, and defy you to show me another in the whole collection, in which it had been a merit to be short."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1740, December 20. Wellwyn.—"I have been above ten days at this place, where my memory is very troublesome to me, and my understanding is hard put to it to get the better of its severe impertinence. I am heartily sorry for Mrs. Elstob, and hope in God she will not add to the great number of touching admonitions Providence lately has been pleased to give me of my own mortality. But you, Madam, are her deputy; how worthily are you employed! It is being twice a parent to bring little machines into being, and then to inspire them with such an understanding as shall make that being a blessing to them. How hard is it that a poor whore, who murders her child, shall be hanged, and a rich one, who neglects the education of her children, shall escape! The first—though she designs it not—makes an angel; the last makes a legion of devils, if particular Providence does not interpose.

"I had, Madam, the honour of waiting on the Duchess of Kent, who, in truth, for a duchess, is a very odd one; she has a noble ambition of being always in the right, and either her Grace studies propriety in all things, or she is so very fortunate, as, without aiming at it, exactly to hit the mark. What I have hinted, Madam, concerning duchesses in general, is nothing to your Grace; you are only a titular duchess, and have scarce one single qualification for it. Insomuch, that if you could find in your heart to scratch the coronet out of the corner of your handkerchief, you might easily pass for a lady of as sound a mind and as good a heart as any in Christendom. As for Miss R———, her heart is hardened, and I find—by what she says—that she is determined, without any remorse, to carry her face along with her wherever she goes; but if that may seem altogether necessary, I humbly beseech her—sometimes at least—to leave her understanding behind. Many an honest gentleman—though born in Kent—has done it, even when the welfare of his country was depending. I am glad to hear Mrs. P——— is proud of her weaknesses; I shall now entertain some small hope that I may not entirely be out of her favour; but, Madam, since

* *i.e.*, before or above.

Mrs. P———'s natural antipathy is reenforced by her pride, as you love ingenuity, I beg you to keep some one corner in your house unviolated, lest the whole race of those admirable spinsters, who work without a wheel, may not entirely be destroyed. The flies must be very fond of Mrs. P——— for routing their grand enemies, but I am afraid she is not aware with whom she is entering into so strict an alliance, for Beelzebub—the learned say—is king of the flies; so that what I suspected before is now, I think, very plain—viz.—that Mrs. P——— hates a spider worse than the Devil, which, I fear, with the fair is no uncommon case.

"If, Madam, the gentlemen will not take it ill, that I put them in such company, I desire my humble service to them, and particularly, please, Madam, to let my Lord Duke know that I have a true and grateful sense of the honour he does me by giving me a place in his remembrance. As for the little ones, he that knows them, and does not love them, is a monster, and I wish he was a monster with six or eight hairy legs crawling on Mrs. P———'s work, that she might justly wreak her full vengeance on him. But men in the shape of men let her spare, and set Miss R——— such an example of humanity, as may incline her to spend the remainder of her days in a cloister, which is the sole expedient I can think of for her complying with it."

Postscript.—"I had almost forgot to wish your Grace a happy Christmas, that is, to wish you would make others as happy as you can. For believe me, Madam, 'they that are most social are most selfish; and but by giving happiness to others, we cannot receive it ourselves.' I desire your Graces to accept this maxim as a new year's gift; for I never make but one a year, and this came into my head from asking myself how 'twas possible your Grace could be so merry—as you say you are—in such weather as this. Oh, that I was a salamander, and could live in flame, as poor Captain B———— has done for two years past! and will she not relent? I fear your friend loves her flesh overroasted; it may be wholesomer, but sure, ladies, it is more palatable with the gravy in it; but I grant, meat without bread won't do."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

[1740, December?] From The 3 Sphinxes, Temple Bar.—"I designed to have waited on your Grace, but I find myself obliged to hunt money all this day, as closely as the staunchest hound on this side Temple Bar. But what have I to do with money? Your Grace promised me what is much more valuable, the friendship of Mrs. Pendarves; I thought that long ere this I should have known her very well, but I know her no more than I know your Grace; and you, Madam, of all female riddles, are the most exquisite, and impenetrable. Why was this favour so often promised? Was it to try my philosophy, and see how well I could bear a disappointment, or was it to try my taste, and see how I could relish a jest? The jest is too poignant for my taste, the disappointment is too heavy for my philosophy."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

[1741, January?]. Wellwyn.—"It is my duty to write, though perhaps it would be my prudence to forbear, for what shall I write? Yet I will obey your Grace, and disobey you at the same time, for pray what difference is there between not writing and writing nothing? Since your Grace has laid me under an obligation and a difficulty at the same time by your kind command, I will take my revenge by being as severe on your Grace's letter as possibly I can. I am as ambitious to find faults in such a correspondent, as your friends, the natural philosophers, are to find spots in the sun: and I think I can do it effectually. You say, Madam, the more knowledge I have of Mrs. P———, the greater esteem I shall have for her. Madam, you are mistaken, my knowledge of her may increase, but I think my esteem for her cannot; at least I do not desire it should. Again you say, Madam, that she has all the perfections of your sex, but none of the weaknesses: this your Grace designs as an advantageous character of your friend; but how far is it from it! I wish she had a fault or two I could name, that she might be the more valuable. By perfection, Madam, in sublunary things we mean such qualities as render them most agreeable to our own purposes. Gold without alloy will not work; it is quite unfit for the mint, and I fear Mrs. P——— without a little more of the *mere mortal* in her, will hardly receive that impression I am willing to make. Was admiration our only passion, the most shining excellencies would infallibly carry the day; but, Madam, there are other passions in the heart of man, and those more importunate. But what impudence is it in me to pretend to inform your Grace of what lies hid in the human heart! You have often dissected it with the most accurate discernment, and I know but one instance that can call your judgment in question, which is your Grace's undeserved partiality to, Madam, your Grace's most obliged, and most obedient, humble servant."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

[1741. Wellwyn.]—"Notwithstanding my late reproof, your Grace cannot forbear dwelling on the praises of your friend; you say you are happy in her conversation. Had Pope been her admirer, could he possibly have praised her more? Your Grace's endeavour to convince me of her worth is such another attempt as if you should strive to convince me of the truth of the Christian religion; both are equally unnecessary, and equally imply your distrust of judgment; but your Grace, like some other celebrated divines, will preach eternally on a text that needs no comment, and leave quite unexplained what is truly mysterious. For instance, why has your friend, in spite of several advantageous offers, devoted herself to the criminal selfishness of a single life, when she knows that it is her duty to diffuse happiness as much as possibly she can? Why has she been wedded to music, and the pencil, when she knows there is a harmony far beyond that of sounds; and when your Grace by example

has convinced her, that there is a way of furnishing her apartments—without the expense of canvas—with a variety of beauties which a Kneller might be proud to reach? But this, Madam, is touching on too tender a point; I see your Grace is under a decent confusion, to find your friend's justly admired excellencies may be fairly turned to her reproach. Madam, I should not presume to take this liberty, had I not the greatest value for you both. How then can I see with patience one committing a great error, and the other flattering her in it? This must needs grieve any honest heart, which knows how many singular virtues you have, to be tarnished and dishonoured by this, single indeed, but heinous fault. Mend as fast as you can, and peradventure you may find pardon. Boldly, Madam, as I speak, I am well aware, that I have nothing but my *age* to recommend my advice. And indeed I shall be very glad if it can recommend that, for, alas! there is nothing else that can possibly be recommended by it. To conclude this melancholy letter with the same intrepid integrity that runs through the whole, give me leave, Madam, to say, that as well as you love your friend, and she your Grace, as much as you are charmed with each other's conversation; if your friend cannot frame to herself the idea of any conversation which she could like better, she deserves not the blessing of yours. To have a warm and elegant taste for every good thing but that which Nature designed for her chief repast is being, at best, an illustrious rebel to the schemes of Providence, which, though it may gain her the admiration of the weak, will make, on the discerning, but slight impressions in her favour."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

[1741, February? London.]—"Money is the devil, and ever doing mischief, but it never did me greater than now, in denying me [the] honour and pleasure of waiting on your Grace before I leave the town. But you, Madam, who can confer undeserved favours with so great facility, will, I hope, find no great difficulty in excusing involuntary faults. I had the delight and reputation yesterday morning of waiting on Mrs. Pendarves, but what followed stands candidate for a place among your Grace's mysteries."

Postscript.—"But your Grace is a naturalist, I will therefore talk with you in your own way. What so flowery and fragrant as the woodbine! What so luxuriant and fruitful as the vine! How they ravish our senses! How they gladden the heart of man! How divinely they inspire! Such, Madam, is your sex; but then, as you are made exquisite like these, so like these, in compassion to poor mankind, you are made feeble too. You were both designed to give a tender twine around something stronger than yourselves. The vine and woodbine were not designed for celibacy, but to mingle their branches with the rough oak, or elm, obliging, and obliged, receiving succour while they confer the most perfect ornament and delight.

"Now, Madam, a lady of genius, that abounds in arts and accomplishments, she can agreeably employ every hour, by herself; she can stand alone; she is free from that weakness which lays other ladies under the natural necessity of an embrace; and being superior to her own sex, affects an independency on ours. I wish that this is not somewhat the case of your friend.

"If your Grace does me the honour of a line, you will assist me in this nice speculation. I should be glad for the sake of mankind to find myself mistaken about her, for really, Madam, if she is made *only* to be admired, I shall value her no more than an angel. And poor angels, your Grace knows, will meet with many powerful rivals in so wicked a world as this."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

[1741, February-March?] Temple Bar.—"On a review of your last—for I read your Grace's letters more than once—I find you complain that dullness and illnature prevails. I shall endeavour to cure you of that displeasure it seems to give you.

"If, Madam, we have no view in company but of being diverted, or improved, our disappointments will be great, but if we have a second view, that, I mean, of paying a decent regard to society, by free, and frequent intercourse with it, a sense of discharging this duty will be like carrying our own stool with us into company, and make us sit easy in it, though Illnature in the person of Mrs. —— and Dullness in the shape of Dr. ——, sat, one on our right hand, and the other on our left.

"If this advice seems too severe, I'll try to go still farther, and show how this great calamity may be turned into a perfect diversion, by the help of a little imagination in us. If then, Madam, Dr. B—— and Mrs. M—— should visit us, let us suppose ourselves in the theatre, and that the parts of an oaf and a vixen were represented before us, how then should we admire the wonderful talents of the performers, and swear every word, air and action, was acted up [to] the life, and thus steal from a visit the best dramatic entertainment we ever saw, without the expense of a crown!

"If this, Madam, seems as fantastical, as the former advice severe, I will try a third expedient, which is quite obvious and natural, and which everybody, I believe, makes use of more or less. I mean, let us make use of bad company as a foil to recommend the good. We may, I think, justly compare the dullness of the doctor to the flat insipidness of oil, and the illnature of the lady to the acrimony of vinegar. Now might not these—well beat together—make excellent sauce for a Mrs. P———, might they not give us a still higher relish for the charms of her conversation?

"And now, Madam, does not your Grace think me bewitched, that I talk thus to one who could tell me this, and ten times more? Madam, I do it out of pure good husbandry; I pick your pocket in order to make you a treat; what I present to your perusal I steal from your example; while you, perhaps, Madam,

looking on the behaviour I advise, like Eve—in your beloved Milton—looking into the lake, fancy you see an angel, nor know it is yourself

"And now, Madam, can you for your soul imagine for what end and purpose I have written this long letter? I have written, as most of our wits do, purely, Madam, for a dinner, and humbly beg that on Tuesday or Wednesday next—as suits your Grace best—I may be admitted to your table, there to make an apology for the trouble I now give you. If Mrs. P——— was there, she would be so charitable as to help me out; but if she is there, I beg your Grace to remember that her conversation will go down without sauce, so that you need not be at the trouble of inviting either of the two cruets mentioned above. But that I may have the honour of being often in your thoughts, I beg that—for the future—whenever a cruet of either kind comes to visit you, you would be so good as to remember, Madam, your Grace's most dutiful butler."

Postscript.—"As, Madam, persons of the character we have been speaking of may be called *cruets*, so there are others, that may be called *salvers*, as they present us in conversation with all that is delicious to the most elegant taste. Will your Grace stand gossip to the *cruets*, or the *salvers*? If to the *last*, it will, I grant, be less trouble to you, but if to the *first*, your Grace will have the honour of being asked blessing by half the town. I beg, Madam, my respects to the *salvers* of your Grace's acquaintance, and please to let the *cruets* know that, if they honour me with a visit, I shall provide a *sideboard* for them, that they may not come too forward in company, which they are very apt to do."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1741, May 10. Wellwyn.—"I beg your Grace to make my compliments to Lady Isabella, and pay her my congratulations on her conversation to Christianity, and please to let her know that, if she is as good a Christian threescore years hence, I will venture to promise her infinitely more admirers—and those worth having—than *this* world can afford her at fifteen, though she should prove the fairest of her race. Next to a *fine person*, a *fine understanding*, and a *greatness of mind*, are, generally, the two chief objects of human pride; now a *fine understanding* is an understanding of compass, that takes in all things in which we are much concerned, whether present or future, seen or unseen, in fashion or out: and a *great mind* is a mind that has power to comply with the dictates of this *extensive view* in spite of all temptations to the contrary.

"Please, Madam, to let her Ladyship know, that, as she is just come into a world where there are many very much inclined to impose upon strangers, I have taken the liberty—as I wish her well—to inform her of these particulars. And now I give her leave to be as proud as she pleases of a fine understanding, and a great mind, provided they are of the right sort. If her Ladyship says she does not perfectly understand me, as having not

yet learnt our language, tell her I desire her to copy her mama, and then 'tis no matter whether she understands me or not."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1741, July 12. Wellwyn.—"Could I have administered any consolation to your Grace, and had forborne to do it, I then indeed had been quite inexcusable; but I too well know that the first agonies of real sorrow have no ears, and that a man might as wisely talk with his friend in a fever, and desire his pulse to lie still, as to philosophize with a wounded heart. These, Madam, are the strokes of Heaven, nor will they be defeated of their effect, nor indeed is it for our interest that they should. Of God Almighty's manifold blessings to mankind His afflictions are the greatest; they will make us wise, or nothing will. We cannot bear an uninterrupted prosperity prosperously; we cannot bear it without being a little intoxicated with the delicious cup, which will make our virtue reel, if not fall. Hence an ancient said as wisely as wittily:—'No man is so unhappy as he who never knew affliction.' I therefore congratulate your Grace on what you suffer, nor let it sound cruel or harsh in your ear, for in this I am but a little beforehand with your own self; for shortly you will bless God for this great calamity, and find that the best may be bettered by the kind discipline of Heaven. Heaven suffers nothing to happen to man but what is for his temporal or eternal welfare, and our fears have as much reason to praise God as our triumphs. In what a blessed situation are we then, Madam, under such a Being who does, who will do, who can do nothing but for our good! What passion in the heart of man is half so natural as the love of God, while man is in his right senses! We have no motives of love, but either the excellence of the thing itself, or its benefit to us, and in neither view has God any rival, or shadow of it. Now why is Divine love so natural to us? and why is it enjoined as the first and great command? Because, if this is complied with, a course of duty will be a course of delight; we shall have the same pleasure in it as a fine gentleman has in obeying the commands of a favourite mistress. Love carries the whole heart with it, and when our heart is engaged, among toils and difficulties we find ease and pleasure, and nothing is too hard for the great alacrity of our attempts.

"But is not love too familar a passion from such insects towards the King and Father of all being? It seems to be so, but I beg your Grace—for the Bible is a pretty book—to review the Gospel for Whitsunday, and to see what a familiar intimacy by that tremendous Power is indulged to men. I never read it but with astonishment, nor is it possible for any one who reads it to suspect that any of His dispensations are really severe, who speaks to us in such language as the fondest father might make use of, and who will encourage no expectations in us, that shall not be far surpassed by the event.

"In a word, Madam, Heaven is as solicitous for our happiness here, as is consistent with Its far kinder concern for our happiness hereafter, and our afflictions—which is saying much in their favour—plainly tell us we are immortal: were we not, we should be as free from cares, but then we should be as destitute of hopes too, as the beasts that perish. May that Power *who bindeth up the broken heart, and giveth medicine to heal its sickness* be for ever your Grace's comfort and defence."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1741, August 5. Tunbridge Wells.—"There are but two distempers, and those very different, that bring people to this place, either redundancy, or want of spirits. The first makes people mad, the last fools; the first, I observe in this place, like persons bit by the tarantula, dance immoderately, till the distemper flows off; the last, like poor Job's friends, sit silent for seven days together, till the water gives them utterance. The virtue of the water is yet got no higher than my fingers' ends, which enables me to write, but when it will arrive at my lips is uncertain; but when it does, I shall have the pleasure of conversing with your Grace's friends, many of whom are here, but all my conversation with them has hitherto been carried on by signs only on my part, for sound to one in my state is too great an expense.

"By this time your Grace begins to guess the reason why I left the town without taking leave: that was rude, but I should have been much ruder, had I attempted it. To have made your Grace a dumb visit would have been very unpolite, and at best, like Hamlet's ghost, I should have been able to have spoke in dismal monosyllables only, and therefore I humbly hope your Grace will pardon me for not frighting you out of your wits, for I know no lady on earth that would have lost more by such an accident."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

[1741, August. Tunbridge Wells.]—"Sir John Stanley, between the waters and a high relish of your Grace's regard to him is so elevated, that he talks of dancing at the next ball. Mrs. Donellan, whom I have studied, I find to be of an excellent mind and heart; I had once thoughts of drawing so amiable a character at length, but I shall abridge it in one sentence which implies all. 'She is worthy to be your Grace's friend.' I am heartily sorry my Lord Duke has been in pain, but I hope by this time he is reaping the advantage of it, in a quicker relish of health. There is no one here who have* so distinguished themselves either by their wisdom or folly, as to contribute to your amusement by their history. Here is a great fortune, which is followed by a pack of noble beagles, but which will be the happy dog no one yet can tell. I am much obliged to your Grace and to the Duke and Duchess of Leeds; when I recover my own country, I

* *Sic.*

shall prevent the honour of their sending to me. I proposed writing a long letter, but your Grace is reprieved from the execution of that design by the waters. I can neither stand, nor see, nor think, and if your Grace can read what I have already written, his Majesty's affairs, at this critical juncture, need not be at a stand, for want of a decipherer."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1741, September 17. Wellwyn.—"To be courted by a Duchess in my old age is a very extraordinary fate. Should I tell it to my parishioners, they would never believe one word I spoke to them from the pulpit afterwards: I lie therefore under a terrible dilemma; I must either burst by stifling this secret, or make atheists of my whole neighbourhood. Such scrapes as this should teach the world the wholesome lesson of humility, and never to covet blessings that are too great for them, which are very apt to overwhelm them, or to betray, and while they gratify their ambition, wound their virtue, or their peace.

"But, Madam, I think it is in your power to make me some amends for the injury you have done me, by standing my friend with your Grace's correspondent, Mrs. Donellan; I should be ashamed of not having the truest regard for her accomplishments; and had I not passed through London, like an arrow out of a bow, I should have paid myself the compliment of waiting on her, which I hope to do very soon.

"As for the honour of waiting on your Grace, I have a thousand arguments against it, and ten thousand wishes for it; but wishes and arguments are a very unequal match; 'tis therefore much to be feared I shall not have virtue enough to stay away.

"As for your Grace's letter which has fallen into Mr. Murray's hand, be not troubled; there were no secrets in it; had it fallen into the hands of my Lord Duke himself, it would have done no harm. I beg your Grace to be my Mr. Murray, and in your very first letter into Bond Street to turn advocate for me. This, Madam, I repeat because it is really some concern to me, for I am not only indebted to Mrs. Donellan, for the credit of her acquaintance, but to her mitred brother,* in a very particular manner. I am now reading some of his works not yet published, and that with the greatest improvement and pleasure. He and I were rivals at Tunbridge as to a married lady, till her husband in a jealous fit came from town, and snatched her from the impending danger, but your Grace will keep the secret.

"I have heard Lady P———h's character, and therefore am not at all surprised to hear she is at Bullstrode. Her ladyship is nearly akin to your Grace by a far nobler relation than that of blood. But what is that to me? I have a general objection against conversing with ladies. When hats and hoods meet, how naturally do they fall into mutual flattery! The vice, in that case, seems to have obtained a general toleration; nay, it passes

* *i.e.*, her brother-in-law, Bishop Clayton.

for an accomplishment at least, if not a virtue. But if it is an accomplishment, accomplishments can do mischief; for this reason I think for the future, I shall converse with no woman but your Grace, not that your Grace's never flatters, quite the contrary, but then you discover at the same time so good an understanding, that your flattery does no harm; though our mouths water at it, we dare not swallow it, lest, while we accept of your compliment, we should lose your esteem; for this we are sure of, we cannot do wrong under your Grace's eye, and pass undetected. Thus, Madam, is your discernment our rescue from your complaisance.

"If your Grace sees the Duchess of Kent, please to let her know that there was more virtue in her enquiring after me than she perhaps imagines; that there is an unextinguishable ambition in man which is highly gratified by such honours, shown by some sort of persons, and that I shall enter it in that short inventory of goods which Fortune allots me—'That I was remembered in absence by the Duchess of Kent.'

"And now, Madam, have I not written a very long letter? and to show myself still more generous, I have written such a one, as cannot possibly lay your Grace under the least obligation. This, Madam, is an instance of generosity, which I desire your Grace to follow, nor let this frankness give you the least disgust, for this is the only instance of generosity in which I presume on any share of competition with you. My Lord Duke, the dear little ones, and Mr. Achard—your Grace knows my meaning as well as I do, and can express it better. The sincerity of heart will appear in its birthday suit, if your Grace will vouchsafe to put it into words."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1741, October 29. Wellwyn.—"Your Grace's little letter is a great satire; it is extremely kind, and extremely severe; it pleases and pains, like a bee in a blossom; from its ambrosial entrenchment it stings me home; like my Lady B—— it bites, while it kisses. Is not your Grace tired? If not, I'll run on till tomorrow, and outposie that huge waterpot of flowers, the dropsical and facetious Lord G.——. But I forget my band, and therefore, Madam, please to observe that all the pleasures of man may be ranked under the following heads:—

1. Outward senses.
2. Imagination.
3. Honour.
4. Benevolence.
5. Esteem.
6. Self-approbation.
7. Gratification of the will.
8. Pain avoided.
9. Hope.

"You see, Madam, what a monster human pleasure is, what a hydra with a thousand heads! Which will your Grace please to

choose? That, I suppose, which is most like your own; I mean, which is most worth having of any in this, or any other assembly.

"Now, that, Madam, is *benevolence*,—as I will prove at large when I have the honour of seeing you—all the other pleasures are short or precarious, or mixed, as those of *sense*, *imagination*, *honour* and *esteem*; or else *mortal*, as that of *hope*, or some way or other inferior to the pleasure of *benevolence*, as is even *self-approbation*, which is only a consequence of *benevolence*, and the cause is always nobler than the effect.

"Whether your Grace has examined this truth as much as I have done, or no, I cannot tell; but this I know, that how little acquaintance soever your head may have made with it, it is a great intimate, and perfect crony of your heart, or your Grace could not after my behaviour be so kind to me; but I dare say you have *studied*, as well as *felt* it, else it would be quite impossible you should be so great a mistress in it. I therefore must conclude by saying that your Grace is either a perfect riddle, or a profound philosopher."

Postscript.—"I propose the honour and pleasure of waiting on you about the middle of next month, if your Grace permits, but I beg, before I come down you would turn the ghost out of the gallery. Mr. Goldsmith can do it in a trice, but spare the poor Red Sea, and send the Devil to the Spanish squadron, or if you had rather, send the Spanish squadron to him."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1741, November 17. [Wellwyn.]—"Your Grace in your last has brought a very severe indictment against me: I can by no means plead guilty to it. On Friday I propose rendering myself at your Grace's tribunal; I shall not be content with holding up my hand; I will hold up my heart at your bar, and if you will promise not to prick it, you shall take it [in] your hand, and see if you can find out that fault which you lay to my charge. I am very tender in this point, for I know that not only good manners, but virtue is concerned in the violation of that respect, which, I know, is your Grace's due, and especially from myself. But I think I shall not fly to your mercy, as an asylum from your justice; your justice seasoned with a little spice of good nature shall acquit me. I would not, Madam, persist in my vindication, was it not to rescue your Grace from a mistake, for a mistake in your Grace is such a novelty that for ought I know, it might fright you into a fine lady, and give your Grace an absolute palpitation. As for myself, I can easily own a fault when I really commit it, as a bankrupt is not very tender of owning a debt. Especially to your Grace I should freely make confession, for—I know not how it comes to pass—I find I could prefer a pardon from your Grace before an acknowledgment from another."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1741, December 22. Wellwyn.—"As I write this to your Grace on horseback, you will forgive the many allusions you meet with to that animal. The first I shall saddle is Mrs. Pendarves. I look on her understanding to be very surefooted, and perfectly acquainted with the road; and though her understanding could show a good sheer pair of heels, and distance most companies it comes into, yet is it wisely content not to rob others of their good humour by seeing themselves undone; thinking it enough that it is in power to give them the spleen whenever she thinks fit. As for Miss Robinson, her understanding is of the best blood, and can carry any plate she thinks good to put in for, but it is sometimes rather pleased to prance than run, which has this advantage in it, that it is done with more grace, and less pains, and yet carries in it a demonstration at the same time, that she can leave us whenever she will. As for Mrs. Dews, my horse says he has no more similes, unless she will permit me to say, that perfect complaisance seems to be the spur of her conversation, and discretion to hold the rein. As for your Grace, your understanding has been in the manage; Art and Nature can't adjust their rights about it; each swears in its turn, that she is your greatest benefactor, and not being able to agree, they split the difference; Nature takes all that is most amiable in your conversation, and Art all that is most prudent, yet even this does not end the dispute, for they are forced to call for grains and scruples to determine which has the largest share.

"Thus, ladies, have I saluted you all round; and I am now for binding you up in one nosegay altogether. Thus incorporated, pray, ladies, what are you? are you the Graces or the Muses? You are too many for the first, and too few for the last, and yet there is a vast deal of both those sisterhoods in you. I will therefore fairly tell your Grace what I apprehend to be [the] case. Considering what a world we live in, and that wit and beauty run both pretty low, those two societies could no longer separately subsist, and that they might not both make an absolute break of it, one somewhat like your Grace, and wiser than the rest, proposed a coalition, and deputed you four ladies as a little committee to mankind, to show that they still subsist, and to do them credit with the world. But whether this be quite honest in those jades called goddesses, I leave to my Lord Duke and Mr. Achard to determine, to whom I beg duty, respect and service."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1742, January 12.—"Your Grace's friend has lately called on me twice; he passes to and fro like an inhabitant of another world, and tells us the deceased, the buried in the country, what is doing upon earth. I sent my compliments to your Grace by him, which I was half unwilling to do, for though we of these lower regions bear a good regard to virtue, yet, since we are quite

incapable of doing any real service, we are sparing of verbal civilities, lest it should look like compliment and nothing else. If Miss Dashwood is the creature you represent, I give your Grace joy of her, but I more congratulate herself; all gain by good qualities, but the possessor most; but be pleased, Madam, to observe that this possessor should be possessed. Fine women unmarried are like fine diamonds in the jeweller's shop, gazed at by multitudes, but enjoyed by none, and if they stay there too long, they are cheapened down below their real value. The lady and the ring should be both worn; the ring, when on the finger, is in its proper situation, and answering the end for which it was made. Now I talk of marriage, I will tell your Grace a piece of news; Sir Thomas Hanmer was married last Thursday to Mrs. Pendarves. This I heard in this country but yesterday; I wish it be true, for I know they would both be happier in that state than singly they can possibly be. There is but one objection against marriage, and that is one which the wise world amongst its ten thousand objections never makes; I mean that the husband and wife seldom die in one day, and then the survivor must be necessarily miserable.

"But to return to your delightful Miss Dashwood, your Grace says she is extremely modest; I will let your Grace into a secret, for I know Miss Dashwood well; I knew her mother before her, and I knew her daughter though yet unborn. This modesty is a lowly and successful cheat; it seems to decline that which it most desires; it proceeds from a love of esteem, joined to a diffidence of our taking the most proper methods to gain it. This diffidence creates that inward uneasy emotion which discovers itself in the cheeks; a blushing cheek who would not kiss? but why? because our own pride tells us it carries some deference in it to our judgment, and a desire of our good opinion; so that the praise we bestow on this virtue proceeds in some measure from our own vice. Thus you see, Madam, that I take the liberty of calling your Grace proud; but, Madam, take not offence at it, for if love of esteem is a vice—which is all that I lay to your or Miss Dashwood's charge—it is a vice that is to be found in other angels, in those *above:* love of esteem is planted in all created rational beings for excellent purposes, and it can never do harm but when it is *conducted* or directed amiss. Let none then be so proud, and so foolish too at the same time, as to say they have no pride in them. I honour Miss Dashwood's modest pride; it is the only pride that carries its point; confident pride defeats itself, and loses our esteem by being too sure of carrying it. I dwell on this, because, about ten years ago, it was quite a fashion with young ladies to pretend to more impudence than they had, and nothing could put them so much out of countenance as to have it suspected that they [were] capable of blushing at anything. If your Grace knows any such, please to tell them from me that they extremely mistake their own interest, if their designs are on mankind; men are such impudent rascals, but to their honour be it spoken, so conscious of that their grand defect,

that they dote on modesty wherever they find [it], though it should happen to be in coaldust and tatters. What pretty company have I brought your Grace into!"

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1742, January 13. Wellwyn.—"What your Grace says of my Lady Oxford grieves me, very sincerely I speak it, for I honour and love, and ever shall, the virtues of that lady. Your Grace was so good in your last letter as to pass a very handsome compliment; had it been more, I should have had the honour of waiting on you here, which I humbly hoped for a week together, and put my house in order. Caroline, whom your Grace is so good as to remember, will soon be in town, and humbly begs she may be permitted the honour and pleasure of waiting on you. My Lady Cathcart, our neighbour, who has a house in Westminster is so good to take her to town for some time, that the child may be cured of starting at a human face.

"I share your concern, Madam, for her Grace of Kent; I have as well great obligations to her, as a high opinion of her.

"Some, Madam, are apt to think that God Almighty's providence is indeed very particular and notorious, as to kingdoms and nations; but as to persons they imagine it is somewhat more distant or remiss. The truth, I conceive, is, that the Almighty's providence and inspection is equal as to both; all methods are taken with us, that can be taken with free agents, in order to our amendment, and though almost every thing is an instrument in the hand of Providence to this end; yet what seems to me to be peculiarly, and in the most eminent, and evident degree such, is, our friends. With these Heaven can most encourage, and most chastise us; these can give us the greatest pleasure, and these the greatest pain. I would by no means damp that blessed and reasonable satisfaction which arises from them in our days of joy; far from it. It is not only our prudence, but our duty, to enjoy them, but then we should sometimes consider, amid those most endearing and amiable enjoyments, that perhaps we are that moment whetting the arrow that shall wound us; for most sure it is the more we enjoy, the more we may suffer from them; the more severely we shall feel their folly, their misfortune, or their loss.

"Your Grace says you have a disposition little able to support the loss or misfortune of your friends. Madam, I never heard you commend yourself before. The highest character that can be given of a human creature is—'A being with a feeling heart.' Such a heart, I confess, runs great risk in the present scene; and yet human prudence and Divine Providence together form an ampler shield for our defence than is generally imagined. And when arrows of pain strike through it, such a feeling heart has this to say to itself, 'That those very pains well borne will entitle it to a scene, where there is nothing but pleasure to be felt; and where an unfeeling heart shall never enter.'"

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

[1742, February?] Wellwyn.—"As I design myself the honour of waiting on your Grace very soon, I shall not by letter forestall what I have to say as to the authors you mention. Fiction may have a good tendency, and history may have a bad one, which I believe to be the case with regard to these two writers, of whom I shall say no more at present. I am much obliged to the two ladies for the thousand fine things they did not say of me, but I take it a little ill they did not make it ten thousand, since it would have cost them no more. Madam, I beg my love and envy to the little ones, my real duty to my Lord Duke, and my humble service to Mr. Achard. The bear your Grace mentioned in your last has stretched out his great paw, and drags me to town, through bad weather; and gangs of robbers, which infest Enfield Chase, but what can the fools expect from a man at law? I hope they will not beat me for my poverty, for I can honestly assure them, that I have parted with my money to gentlemen who deserve hanging full as well as themselves, which they cannot take ill of me, at least, not so ill as if I had fooled it away in paying my debts, or squandered it in charity. I am, Madam, heartily glad to hear that Mrs. Elstob is restored to her health, and pleasing province of sowing the seeds of virtue, and accomplishment in so happy a soil. God preserve, and increase your Grace's peculiar blessings, you know how to make a right use of them, nor need I say to your Grace, what I might very properly to many:—'Happy are they who are not hurt by good things, happy are they who have nothing on earth which they hold dearer than their Maker.'"

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

[1742.]—"I humbly thank your Grace for your kind letter, but there are two many melancholy articles in it to give all the satisfaction I could wish. I hope my Lord Duke is perfectly recovered of the gout, and that Lady Fanny has likewise set your Grace's heart at ease as to her disorder. But poor Dr. Clarke—but why do I call him poor? I know no one whose deathbed I should envy more; he's a very exemplary man, I love his person, and I reverence his character; I would write to him, but that I fear might some way or other prove troublesome, yet I long to know how he does, and to hear better news of him, than your Grace sent me. If, therefore, you should do me the honour of writing, I beg, Madam, a line or two concerning him. I proposed much satisfaction in his acquaintance.

"It gives me great pleasure that Lord Quarendon has your Grace's vote; he certainly deserves it, and he has as certainly in it a proper reward of great desert. Lord Cornbury I have not the honour of knowing, but hope your Grace will introduce me to his acquaintance; I know his Lordship's character, or I should not desire this favour. When persons of quality have *equal* merit with the most deserving of those below them, they have really *greater*. The diamond is better set, and throws a brighter lustre; I do not mean from their fortune only, but from

their manner, which has often a grace and dignity in it incommunicable to those of inferior rank. Since your Grace by your own authority has been pleased to divorce Mrs. P——— and Sir T——— H———, they need not have the trouble of going Doctors' Commons. I propose, Madam, the honour of waiting on your Grace in town about the 18th of next month, but if possible, and no great trouble to you, I should be truly much obliged if your Grace would let me hear of Dr. Clarke long before. The herse of Mr. Hale, my neighbour, friend, and a most eminently worthy young gentleman, passed by my door for his own seat, this very moment; he went to town to provide for his marriage with one Miss Gilbert (whom I know well and admire) and died with her wedding ring on his finger. These things strike us, but most people are struck so often by them, that at last they seem to lose their feeling. When these things cease to pain us, Heaven gives us up; It leaves us entirely to the world to make the most of it; the next step is, that the world, having us entirely its own, begins to domineer, and denies us our usual share of pleasure,—which is the necessary case of the abandoned —and then we are finely bit."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1742, May 3. [Wellwyn.]—"Such is my opinion of your Grace's goodness, that I can choose no subject more agreeable to you than to speak of your friends. Last week a neighbour of poor Dr. Clarke's* now in Huntingdonshire called on me; he told me our friend was still living, and that his physician said he might possibly live four or five years longer. That is in the ever blessed will of God. After this melancholy account, I will give your Grace something more comfortable. The doctor retains his spirits, and is cheerful under circumstances that fright the bystander. Now this would be impossible, was there not an Indulgent Being who frights us with the appearance of remote evils, in order to give entrance to His fear into our hearts, and when those evils come supports us under them beyond our expectation, and more still beyond our deserts. Dr. Clarke's behaviour brings to my memory some lines which I have formerly read, whether it be in Fletcher perhaps your Grace can tell. After the author has represented a good man, whose name is *Philander*, on his deathbed behaving to the surprise of all about him, he adds:—

'As some tall tower, or lofty mountain's brow
Detains the sun, illustrious from its height,
When rising vapours, and descending shades,
In damps and darkness drown the spacious vale,
Philander thus augustly reared his head
Undamped by doubt, undarkened by despair;
At that black hour, which general horror sheds
On the low level of inglorious minds,
Sweet *peace*, and heavenly *hope*, and humble *joy*,
Divinely beamed on his exalted soul,
With incommunicable lustre bright.'

* *i.e.*, Alured Clarke, dean of Exeter, d. 31 May, 1742.

"I hope in God, Madam, we may see our Philander again, before these verses are applicable to him in their full extent. Heaven is pleased to permit our friends to be so very dear to us, that our parting with them—which must necessarily be sometimes the case—might in some degree lessen that strong hold, which the world is apt to take on our hearts: the most deplorable case of all is, when the world so entirely fills our hearts, as not to leave room even for our friends. If such there are, Heaven keep your Grace as distant from them, as your disposition is from theirs."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1742, August 1. Tunbridge [Wells].—"As this is a place where books are denied us, as unwholesome, we must either read human nature, in that pretty edition the good company gives us of it, or read nothing at all. I have read the company over and over, some pages of which were very fair, and delightful, others were sullied, and dogs-eared with the cares and troubles of human life, and contributed more to the prevalence of the spleen, than the waters to the cure of it.

"Your Grace, I know, is curious to know the general contents of this human folio I have been reading, or what real knowledge I have gathered from my perusal of it.

"Madam, I fancy you have read it so often, and so well understand it yourself, that all I can extract from it will be nothing but a bad copy of your Graces's own thoughts. However if your Grace has a mind to contemplate the difference between a Zinks* and a signpost, I will send you my portrait of human nature, but I must beg leave to defer exposing myself till my next.

"For really, Madam, though there is no one on earth could sooner persuade me out of my senses than your Grace, yet I dare positively affirm that my head is giddy, but whether I stand on my head or my heels I will not presume to be quite so positive.

"But, Madam, I hope I shall never be so much indisposed as to forget the great obligations I lie under to your Grace and my Lord Duke, who has, I plainly find, made so serious a point of promoting my interest with their two Graces of Newcastle and Canterbury, that I am scarce more obliged by his favour, than astonished at his singularity."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1742, August 21. Tunbridge [Wells].—"Your Grace is pleased to write to me in so obliging and in so sensibly affectionate a manner, that it, as it were, chastises, while it confers the greatest obligation, and gives me some pain to consider how little I deserve it at your hands. Your Grace is pleased to ask pardon for giving me most kind and prudent advice; Madam, rather ask pardon, for pardon asked, for that seems to imply a mean opinion of my gratitude or understanding. As to my Lord

* *i.e.*, an enamel by Zincke, then much in vogue.

Egmont, whose character I honour, I thought I put myself in his way. It was not for me by making the first advance to take his lordship into my patronage; but perhaps I was too shy; I assure your Grace I'll endeavour to mend for the future.

"I hope in God, Madam, your Grace's spirits are raised by my Lady Oxford's perfect recovery: the loss of a friend is certainly the severest stroke under heaven. My Lady Bateman was *here* at that time: she had appointed me to drink tea with her that afternoon, and when I came to the door I met the sad news, which denied me that favour. I remember the time when I have trembled at the sound of a post-horn, and was as much startled at the sight of a letter, as I should have been at a warrant to seize my person and vast estate.

"I congratulate your Grace on Miss Robinson's marriage, but I will not congratulate her spouse till I know he deserves her. But your Grace knows my opinion of her already; she is a surprising young being, by which I would mean, something of a middle nature between angel and woman. Your Grace will naturally understand this better than another.

"But you, it seems, Madam, are humbly content with desiring a portrait of mere human nature; this, Madam, I promised, and this—God willing—I will perform. But not now, I do not design to trifle, but to be quite serious in it, not for your Grace's information, but to rescue you from your aversion, news, and chitchat, which have by the cruel courtesy of England taken possession of the epistolary pen. But at present my thought is accidentally so much engaged on something else, that I care not to enter on that subject till I am more at leisure.

"I beg, Madam, my humble duty to my Lord Duke, and please to let his Grace know, that on the receipt of his last kind letter I immediately writ to the Archbishop, as he advised. It was such a letter, as neither has received, nor expected an answer. I hope your Grace's olive branches flourish, and since the spirit of prophecy is on me, I will foretell a miracle; they shall one day be turned into laurels and myrtles. Prophecies, your Grace knows, are always somewhat obscure, but if you consult Whiston, or, perhaps, Mr. Ashard—to whom my humble service—he'll probably let you into my meaning."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1742, October 1. Wellwyn.—"Yesterday a gentleman spent his day with me here, and he made the day to me most agreeable, by an entertainment I did not expect from him. How he came by his intimacy with my Lady Oxford's character I cannot tell; but he told me many particular facts, most commendable in it, of which I knew nothing before. I envy her Ladyship the satisfaction she must receive from them. Wealth and rank, which shine so bright, have two rivals that outshine them, I mean wisdom and virtue. Not to cant, but to speak soberly what I know to be true; these two rivals give the only real superiority to any person upon earth. Wealth and rank will ever indeed

gain followers, and those the most complaisant. But bows and smiles can subsist without love or esteem, and the great person that accepts them with joy would often reject them with disdain, if he saw the heart of his admirer. But, Madam, with wisdom and virtue, it is quite otherwise. These compel our esteem and love; we can't withhold them if we would, and it is certain, many would withhold them if they could; for all destitute of those qualities cannot but envy that real and absolute superiority they give others over them, and envy hates as much as ever she can; but in this case Nature is against her hatred, and love and esteem will necessarily mix with it.

"Thus, Madam, I have given your Grace a key, by which you may infallibly understand the secret cause of any disrespect I may possibly show, or any injury I may possibly do, you, or yours, hereafter. You offer violence, you compel, you extort, what few are willing to part with, admiration and esteem, and I hate a tyrant, and you, I know, hate flattery; and therefore I have taken care to abuse your Grace as much as was in my power, and so much was in my power as would have killed half the duchesses in this kingdom; for I have fairly thrown your coronet on the ground, and bid your wisdom and virtue tread it under their feet."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1742, December 12. Wellwyn.—"I bless God my danger is over, but my recovery is slow. The good news your Grace sends of my Lord Duke and my Lady Oxford will promote it; I never saw anything in Mr. Hay, but what was a symptom of sound sense; I am not therefore so much surprised, as pleased, at the account you give of his sermon. If your Grace sees him, I beg my humble service and thanks for his late favour to me at Kensington. A good sermon is a most rational and high entertainment to those that are so happy as to have a relish for it, which, I am persuaded, is your Grace's case. To keep preaching a little in countenance with those that have no very favourable opinion of it, give me leave, Madam, to observe that the whole creation preaches; I mean, that we can make no just observation on any of the appearances in the material world, but what will naturally have a moral good effect on us. The Sacred Scriptures therefore are very justly considered as God Almighty's second volume, and creation as His first; which speaks to the same purpose, and if attended to, is ever bettering the human heart. How happy then, and wise is your Grace, who are fond of both these books! Mr. Hay, and others, of eminent talents for the pulpit, are only commentors on them, or panegyrists in their praise. Your Grace by this time sees, there is something sacred, as well as entertaining, in your drawers of shells, &c.; they may be considered as so many little pages of that immense volume, which God Almighty has published in a most pompous edition to induce His rational creatures to a ready and constant perusal of it. Proceed, Madam,

by your exemplary life and behaviour, nay, even by your amusements, to preach to the preachers, and among others, to the most attentive of your congregation, your Grace's much obliged, and most obedient, humble servant."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1743, June 2. Wellwyn.—"After so long silence your Grace's letter gave me the greatest pleasure. Had I known or guessed the melancholy reason you assign for not writing, I should not have denied myself the honour of writing to you; but I was really afraid your Grace had taken something ill.

"You are pleased, Madam, to begin your letter with a reflection both on my understanding and gratitude. I do assure your Grace that I do, and ever shall look on your correspondence—as I ought—not only as a great honour, but real entertainment too. What you are pleased to say about Miss Lee is extremely kind, and if I wish her well, I must obey your Grace's commands in it.

"As I take it, Madam, I am directly in your way to Nottinghamshire; and why should you put yourselves to an inconveniency to avoid me? I do assure you, I will neither hurt you, nor myself; I will receive you, as I ought to entertain, not as your Grace ought to be entertained. I heartily rejoice with Mrs. Montague, whose truly polite merits I know and admire; and whose virtues, with the world for my rival, I shall ever honour.

"As for the advice your Grace gives me about preferment, I take it with all my heart. What God Almighty is pleased to give I shall receive with the greatest gratitude, nor shall I repine at what He is pleased to deny, if His mercy is pleased to continue to me His grace, and my understanding.

"Your Grace pays me a high compliment in desiring a long letter; nothing but good sense can make such a one agreeable to your Grace, and to say the truth, at present I have no sense to spare. Madam, I have been confined to my bed for five weeks with the most acute distemper, and all the severities those butchers, surgeons, are able to inflict. I have gone through twenty nights, and had not twenty hours' sleep, nor am I yet at all come to my rest, or strength, though—I bless Almighty God—they tell me I'm past all danger.

"This discipline has so beaten down my spirits and understanding, that, had I not a strong inclination to write to your Grace—after so long a time—I should not have been able to do it. Pardon, therefore, Madam, the nothingness of what I write; please to accept my duty and goodwill now, and please to give me credit a little longer for my long arrear of common understanding."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1743, August 25. Wellwyn.—"I beg my humble duty to my Lord Duke, and a thousand thanks for all his favours, particularly for his last. How much am I obliged to you both! I

hope, Madam, the cause of those low spirits your Grace complained of when I had the honour of your last letter no longer subsists. Your Grace is so kind as to invite me to Bullstrode; if any friend of mine, and of my standing, should acquaint me that he was going to make one in such a gay assembly, I should smile at him, in my sleeve, for a fool, who knew not his time of day, and forgot that his holidays were over. But your Grace's desires are commands, and your commands are sacred. I propose to myself the honour of waiting on your Grace the latter end of next month, if that is agreeable to you.

"I have made a short excursion, or I should sooner have acknowledged those favours which lay me under so great an obligation; but I met with no such pleasing and surprising pictures of Art and Nature as your Grace sets before me in your two last letters; one would wonder how barren rock should furnish nutriment to support those large flourishing trees of which your Grace takes notice. These are strange sights, but not so strange as to see a rich overgrown miser, who could purchase half a country, where Nature shows us these rarities—it is not, I say, Madam, so strange to see groves feeding on rocks, as to see that miser dining on a flintstone, which is a sight I have been lately honoured with in my travels; and the worst part of the story is, I was obliged to dine with him, or to starve. Perhaps your Grace may desire to know the difference between these two: as the question is difficult, I must defer the resolution of it till I have the honour of seeing you. All the news I can tell your Grace is, that I've lately conversed with a most extraordinary person, Dr. Taylor, the famous oculist. He is member of every university in Europe but his own; he talks all languages but his own, and has an extreme volubility of tongue; but it is like the volubility of the machine with which they winnow corn—I have forgot its name—and is excellent at throwing dust in our eyes. In a word his tongue is as well qualified to blind understandings, as his hand is to put out our sight. My near neighbour, and valuable friend, Sir Jeremy Sambroke, who has been blind twenty years, is now under his operations, but with such ill success that we are willing to compound for his life, which was once thought in danger. Madam, may the gracious wing of Providence be ever stretched out over Bullstrode, and may I find all as safe when I have the honour of waiting on you, as I now wish you, or, which is the same thing, as I wish myself."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

[1743, September?] Gubbins, Herts.—"I think it my duty to ask your Grace pardon for not waiting on you as I promised. Madam, I received a visit that prevented it, I mean the visit of a violent cold, which stays with me longer than 'tis welcome. I was forced by it to leave the town for clearer air; I thank God, I am better since I came to this place, but not well.

"The day after I saw your Grace I waited on the Archbishop, who told me that my Lord Duke of Portland was very much my friend, but that nothing was to be done without the Duke of Newcastle or Lord Carteret, and presented me with his own good wishes in the handsomest manner; for which I humbly thank my Lord Duke and your Grace. I really believe the Archbishop is my friend, but your Grace knows 'tis dangerous trusting the clergy.

"If, Madam, I have the honour of hearing from you at this place—where I design continuing some time with my friend Sir Jeremy Sambrooke—I desire to know how my Lord Titchfield does, who was ill when I saw your Grace. Perhaps you expect some entertainment, but, Madam, I am neither in a merry, nor in a philosophical mood. Water gruel spoils my mirth, and an eternal cough interrupts my philosophy.

"This minute I have the comfort of hearing that preferment is come very near me, that is, Madam, that my next neighbour, the minister of Hatfield, is made Canon of Windsor. I left, Madam, Miss Lee in town, but I do not design her the honour of waiting on your Grace till I return to introduce her. I beg my humble duty to my Lord Duke, and hope your Grace will pardon this nothing from an invalid. I was blooded this day, and to-morrow begin running the gauntlet through all the rods of an apothecary's shop. You see, Madam, how dear we pay for life; one would think there was something very valuable in it, yet ninety-nine in a hundred find it otherwise, nor can it be truly valuable to any but those who have something still more valuable as their principal point of view. You will pardon this if you consider that I write on a Sunday."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

[1743, September. Wellwyn.]—*. . . . . , "But I think myself entitled to ask it of your Grace, since you condescend in your last letter to ask me for a translation. Pray, Madam, to what bishopric? I do not hear that his Grace of Canterbury is ill.

"Madam, I should have had the honour of waiting [on] you before now, had not a very melancholy accident happened to prevent me. The plague rages in foreign nations, and there the sword is drawn, while we sit smiling under our vines and fig-trees. Yet some calamities come on board our little island. There is a young man to whom I wish extremely well, nor is he altogether undeserving in himself, nor, I think, quite a stranger to your Grace; he is going to be married, and my hands are chosen to be embrued in the blood of his precious peace. The nuptials are to be the latter end of this week at Putney. As soon as they are over, and I recovered from the formidable duty, I propose setting out for Bullstrode, so famous for nightingales.

* The first few lines of this letter have been designedly blotted.

"On reviewing your Grace's letter, I find you mean a translation from Rome to Britain. Madam, was I not fully satisfied that the former is by far the better see of the two, and that your Grace is absolute mistress of it, I should comply with your request. There dwells infallibility; how then can your Grace be deceived? I dare say, if Lucifer himself was to write in darkest characters to any Protestant king in Christendom, the Roman Chair would undertake to decipher it.

"However, if your Grace only means to enquire whether I understand Seneca as well as yourself, I will venture to expose myself to you, by letting you know that I take his meaning to be, that he is a fool that is seeking preferment at my time of day, and that success—should I have it—would only convince me that it deserved not so much trouble in the pursuit."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1743, October 29. Temple Bar.—"This day by your friend Mr. Murray's assistance I carried just one half of my point, the other is referred to Prince Posterity. Mr. Murray has certainly learnt your Grace's art, for he helped me to the wing without cutting off the leg. For the matter stood *thus:* I had two annuities of different dates, that of the second date he sliced off for me with infinite address and dexterity, and left that of the first date still sticking to the Duke's estate. Though I must do him this justice, that if any man alive could have cut off the leg too, he had certainly done it; for there is no tongue carries a better edge.

"Your Grace's always shines, and I suppose can cut upon an occasion, but it is something reserved; and as your Grace was pleased to sheath it in silence as to one particular of which I was in hope to hear you speak, I think it my duty to be silent too on that matter.

"On Tuesday, Madam, I go to Wellwyn for some writings necessary to the final conclusion of this matter, for the Chancellor's decree is not yet more than minuted, and some trouble is to follow its being perfected, before a poor creature embarked in law for twenty-four years can come safe to land.

"If affairs permit me the honour of seeing Bullstrode again this season, I will bring with me Mrs. Donellan's packet, as a charm against any misadventures in my journey. I will not say, as the religious carry relics, for that is making a saint of her, whereas I really think her only the very best of sinners. If she is not content with that character, I am sorry for it, for it is the tiptop of what our church admits.

"This afternoon I waited on Mr. Virtue; he showed me a thousand things that pleased me much; but nothing half so pleasing as the simplicity of his own manners, and the integrity of his heart; he has engraved himself in my memory and esteem for ever.

"Captain Cole was with him yesterday, but he was not very well. Miss Cole is in my head; perhaps, when I see her, she may

change her apartment. I have not yet embraced my friend at your Grace's gate, but I sent him an apology, and he says that for the sake of the blessed family he will forgive me. If your Grace would knit the friendship stronger between me and Josiah—that I think is his name—I humbly beg you to send to him Bishop Gastrell's work* I borrowed, for I cannot get it in town, and I much want to consult it once more on a particular exigence. I will call on Josiah for it; and consult him about the immortality of the soul, and I will return the book safe and sound with his comment when I have the honour to see your Grace."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1743, November 20.—"Such and so frequent are the calamities of human life, that, be our conduct never so correct, our station never so high, they one day or another will infallibly hook us in. Oh Madam! The hook! The hook! Why was it not advertised? Why not a reward proposed? Why not the Germanic Empire that reward? But alas! in its present situation it would never have brought it, unless the finder had been as honest as the lady in the C——t Street.

"Madam, I have diligently sought it high and low, but in vain. I looked for it in the presents of inferiors; in the Nolo episcopari of Bishops; in speeches from the throne; in the self-condemnations of fine ladies; but in vain. I found in all of them a hook; but a hook that was by no means a mystery.

"Your Grace's hook is all-mysterious. I therefore diligently sought it in every page of the Revelations, but not one page could tell any tale or tidings of it.

"Yet, Madam, do not despair. I hear the daemon of Bullstrode gallery, that old friend of mine, whisper in my ear—'It shall be found.'—And lo! here it is.

"I heartily congratulate your Grace on this most happy and surprising recovery of your dear hook, and beg my heartiest congratulations to the two ladies who doubtless have long wept the supposed loss.

"I beseech your Grace to be more careful for the future, and not to throw the world into so terrible a panic any more."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1743, December 10. Wellwyn.—"Such is the dangerous excellency of your Grace's understanding, that a man proves himself quite a hero who dares to converse with you. What will become of my poor unarmed, naked simplicity in so unequal a combat? Why am I thrown in panics when there is no danger near me? Why am I told of impending tempests? Why am I told of ladies in displeasure, when I am satisfied their opinions are at peace with me?

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* "Moral Proof of the Certainty of a Future State" (1725).

"As for Mrs. Donellan, I am not only not afraid of her anger, but I am confident of her goodwill, for is it possible her discernment can stop short of the real meaning of my heart? I therefore defy your Grace's pair of bellows, they may puff the coal of enmity between us, till they burst. 'Tis all in vain. Mrs. Donellan always thinks justly; and therefore I am safe.

"As for Lady Peterborough I have a high sense of the favour of her good wishes. But how came I by them? Her great goodness gave them to me purely as a human creature in distress, so that, though they did me a great honour, yet did they a much greater to herself.

"As for Mrs. Delany, she is very kind in giving me a place in her remembrance, and please, Madam, to let her know—for she is a great stranger to the secret—let her know, therefore, that as long as the prime virtues, decencies, and elegancies, and arts of life preserve their due estimation in the world, by no one who ever had once the happiness of knowing her, will she ever be forgot.

"As to the last part of your Grace's letter I perfectly understand it, and am extremely obliged by it; but if your Grace defers till the great world is settled, I shall wear a mitre in the millennium. The Duke of Newcastle is our Pope. Ecclesiasticals are under his thumb, and he is as fixed as St. Paul's, by his own weight, in spite of all the revolutions of the little court buildings round about him."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1744, January 17. Wellwyn.—"Your Grace is pleased to complain in your last that I call you an incendiary. I could prove you such in more senses than one, but you expect I should retract; I will, and to make you full amends, please accept of the title of an extinguisher. What can quench honest ambition more, than robbing it of emulation, and hiding laudable example from its sight? Has Dr. Delany been with your Grace a month, and does your Grace mention him, and *mention* him *only*? Why did you mention him at all? Had you not, you then might have robbed me, and I known nothing of the felony; but now I am robbed, and murdered my strong and just desire of receiving the character of so distinguished a person from so distinguished a pen. But your Grace can set this right in your next, and I humbly hope you will.

"As for Mrs. Delany, I grieve for her indisposition: what pity 'tis that one who can't but give pleasure, should ever suffer pain! As for Lady Peterborough, I should endeavour to cultivate my better acquaintance with her, was I not apprehensive of too powerful a rival in the Pope; and who would be a pretender in vain? As for Mrs. Donellan, I suppose your Grace was afraid to commit the very bright things she was pleased to say to your own bright style, lest both together should set the paper on fire. Madam, I rejoice at heart for my Lord Duke's recovery; my humble duty to him; Caroline gives her duty to your Grace. Next

to his poor wife, she is the greatest sufferer, an only sister, and most beloved. Thus you see, Madam, though we begin gaily, we end otherwise. Death steals into the latter end of my letter, though he has hitherto spared the latter end of my life, nor can so bright an assembly of ladies, though they hate him, quite fright him away. Had their meanest admirers no other rival, they would certainly carry their point."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

[1744, February. Wellwyn.]—"I know what pain is, and am heartily sorry for poor Mr. Achard, and I wish I was more sorry still. We feel not enough for one another, considering who felt such extremities for us all. Afflictions, as your Grace most justly observes, have their use with regard to another scene; and give me leave to add, they have their excellent use with regard to this scene too; they soften the heart, and make us more humane, they humble the heart, and make us sensible of blessings in that situation which was insipid to us before. The bare cessation of pain, if acute, gives us a pleasure nothing else can give, and the bare remembrance of it is the best preservative against needless disgusts, and the most effectual counsellor for prudent caution, through the remaining part of our lives.

"Madam, I shall be proud of the honour of being introduced to my Lord Cornbury when I wait on your Grace in town. When that will be, I am yet uncertain. As for Lady Andover, she is a person every good man would, I think, be glad to be acquainted withal, if for nothing else, yet for this, that angels, those beings of a nature so remote from, and unlike his own, might give him hereafter the less surprise. This may look like a highflown compliment; what I mean by it is a plain and serious truth; there is—if I mistake not—a sort of unterrestrial softness, sweetness, elegance and ease in her composition; painters, for their superior beings, would steal such a face, and philosophers, to form the juster notions of their excellence, would contemplate such a mind.

"I humbly thank your Grace for your kind and well-judged advice with regard to your excellent cousin. He is not the man I meant; a less exceptionable character is fitter for my purpose. Your Grace's time for speaking is mine; I absolutely acquiesce in your goodness and judgment about it. But I should think that a promise is like money, it carries interest, and the sooner it is procured, the richer in hope we should be.

"Madam, I have the honour to acquaint you ladies in town, that it is spring in the country; that every day your rivals, the flowers, exceedingly increase, and threaten your empire; but I believe their menaces are vain. Mankind, who take upon them to hold the balance of power between you, are too great profligates to let rural innocence prevail. They are not so much for fair maids in February, as fair maids round the year. So that I consider myself as an unrivalled Sultan, I am just now going to take a walk in my seraglio, and which will be the happy daisy I cannot yet tell."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

[1744], May 19. [Wellwyn.]—"I rejoice that your Grace found Bullstrode so delightful, at the worst it is a beauty. To be pleased with one's own is the greatest wisdom of human life, and to have reason to be so is the greatest happiness of it. But to balance this pleasure, your Grace has lost your friend, to whom you give the epithet of amiable; amiable is the softest word in our language, and therefore by far the most proper for Lady Andover.

"Your Grace enquires with great goodness after my health; thanks to Mr. Achard—to whom my very humble service—I am well, blest with so much indisposition only, as is, I hope, sufficient to keep me out the danger of thinking myself immortal. What your Grace says of the battle carries in it so much humanity that it is quite worthy of a duchess; or rather such sentiments make duchesses, without coronets, of every lady by whom they are entertained.

"Another instance of your Grace's great goodness is thinking of poor Caroline; I believe the thing is past retrieve; by my direction she has written to Lord Lichfield to acquaint him with it. She has not yet received his lordship's answer; when she does, your Grace shall know it.

"Your Grace should not have been at the trouble of transcribing your letter to your cousin. Though seeing is believing, yet faith is believing too, but your Grace takes me for an infidel. I wish the M——y did, and then I might have a better chance.

"Your Grace's letter to the Duke lays me under the greatest obligations; nothing can be kinder to me, or more to the purpose; when your correspondent can write half so well, I will certainly have the honour of waiting on him. What a lucky thing it would [have] been, if I, like my Lord Edward, had been born a bishop! Poor little soul! I wish your Grace does not find it has an ill effect on his manners; however, I am very glad to hear that he and his little lay-relations are all well, and I beg my humble duty to their most worthy, and—as yet—most happy father. But I beg your Grace, when you are next in the way of wives, that you would forbear looking toward the Bench, though his Grace of Canterbury is really a comely person; for indeed, Madam, to have a second child marked with a mitre, might occasion suspicion, and cause mischief without the assistance of an Iago to promote it.

"Caroline gives her humble duty, and looks like a fool, as she ought to do. If she performs as well every part of her duty in a married state, she will make the best of what, I fear, is but a [bad] bargain."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1744, May 29. Wellwyn.—"It is with great feeling of heart that I look back on my Lord Duke's, and your Grace's late uncommon goodness to me. On Saturday I waited on my Lady Oxford to thank her for bringing you into the world. I could not

get out of town till Saturday evening. The town is a great net, where honest men are caught like flies, and know not how to disentangle their integrity; and where knaves sit, like spiders, spending their vitals in spinning out snares of iniquity. These spiders are of various kinds. Some only poison the principles of those they catch; these spiders nest in the *Grecian*, and at *White's*. Others are sure to suck the blood of those they get into their clutches. One of the first sort I saw crawling on Mrs. Mon—gu's fair bosom. I would fain have brushed it off; but astonishing to say it! I found she was fond of the monster, and it has worked its way quite into her breast, and is quite visible in that fair and sweet repository, like a spider enclosed in amber. But give me leave to say, that amber the most illustrious, so poisoned, will soon, with all the better part of the world, quite lose its power of attraction.

"As to the second sort of spiders, the bloodsuckers, they nest chiefly in the Inns of Court, and Westminster Hall; two or three of these lately seized on me at once, and played their parts so well, that it is almost incredible to think how much I am reduced.

"But it is some comfort to me to consider that your Grace may be a gainer by both these calamities. Your Grace has a collection of philosophical rarities; clap Mr. M—— into one corner of your cabinet, as a spider enclosed in amber; and hang me up in some old clock-case, for a skeleton: then laugh at Sloane.

"And now, Madam, is it not a most melancholy consideration, that I must soon be re-entangled in this horrid cobweb of the town? I will live there, like a tortoise, in a box; but it shall be a box of Irish oak, that spiders may not come near me."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1744, July 23. Wellwyn.—"I am but just returned to this place from a long absence, or I should have had the honour of writing to your Grace sooner, to return the sincerest thanks for your and my Lord Duke's late great goodness to me.

"But though, Madam, I have not written *to* your Grace, I have written *for* your Grace, and ordered a copy of it to your house in town a week ago. For if I have not written for your Grace, for whom have I written? Not for ten more in the kingdom. At least not so many as there should be. I mean not, Madam, as to the composition, but as to the subject, which is the most delightful, or the most disagreeable in the world, and which of these it shall be, the conduct of the differently-disposed readers is to determine.

"Your Grace's turn I well know, and am sure of at least a candid reader in you. If this world was eternal, and we were eternally to live in it, and that in perpetual youth, and with the conveniences, nay, the glories of life about us; though this to most would seem at first view a desirable situation, yet I am persuaded that on further consideration we should alter our opinion. For as, *now* that we know we shall die, the terror of it flings all our attention on what is *agreeable* in this world, with

which we are, therefore, most unwilling to part; so, if we knew we were to live here for ever, then our attention—so perverse is man—would be busy to find out all that was disagreeable in it; that would most engage his observation, and a mind, whose observation was so engaged, would be inclined to change this scene for another.

"For my own part, Madam, I have good reason to consider myself as on the verge of that other scene; and it is a situation that is apt to give us serious thoughts, and the more serious any persons are, the more grateful must they necessarily be to those from [whom] they have received incontestable proofs of good-will."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1744, September 16. Wellwyn.—"I am very sorry for Lady Peterborough's indisposition; which, by the way, puts me in mind of my own, which I had really forgot, but now I remember it, my head aches mightily, and from eating a load of unripe fruit I have been for a whole week in a good deal of pain. And now, having discharged my conscience by doing justice to myself, let me enter on a more generous province, and do justice to my cousin. I grant that my cousin, as your Grace rightly observes, is very fit to make a Prince of the Empire, nor would Dutchland have disowned him, had his fortune dropped him there. But is this any reason why your Grace should disaffect his conversation? Wherein, thinks your Grace, lies the blessing of conversation? Is it in giving us an opportunity of admiring the parts of others, or of displaying our own? If the first was all it presented us with, I know thousands that would renounce conversation for ever. I know a young lady that would turn nun, though she hates the Pope, and I know a bishop that would turn hermit, though it forfeited all hopes of a translation.

"Reconcile yourself, Madam, to the blessings that befall you, visit my dear cousin, and be happy, look on him and see what sort of a man it was that inspired a Homer, and a Virgil; such were their heroes, and such heroes made them wits; and does your Grace prefer wits before that important being that can make them? By this time, no doubt, your Grace is convinced of my cousin's merit, and your own mistake.

"I beg, Madam, my humble duty to my Lord Duke, and best compliments to Mr. Hay. I am much obliged to Dr. Tillotson for his blessing; but now I think of it, I can bless too, I blessed Mr. Stephen Duck yesterday with a third wife; they were pleased to come to Wellwyn for that benediction. How long they may think fit to repute such is uncertain."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

[1744, December? Wellwyn.]—"You took notice—I remember—that my servant looked like an ancient Briton; I then dissented, and am now come entirely into your Grace's opinion;

for if he had been a modern Briton, he could not possibly have led me such a dance, but must necessarily have known more of his native land.

"In a word, I set out from Bullstrode about *ten*, rid four hours, and my man's horse stumbling at *two*, Tom waked, and told me he fancied we had mistook the way, and seemed to take it ill of me that I had suffered him to be my master so long; and told me, if I would readmit him into my service, he would act in that character the first man we met, and ask him where we were; which he did accordingly, and received in answer, that we were as far from Rickmansworth, exactly, as we were from Gerrard's Cross. On this, as I designed to ride but gently, I desired him to go to sleep again, which he did accordingly, and after some very dirty dreams, that he could not possibly be mistaken a second time, I brought him safe into an Inn at Watford, about sunset.

"But I ask your Grace's pardon, and beg leave that I may now wait on you into better company. Believe, Madam, a clergyman for once; I do assure you nothing could give me greater pleasure than hearing of his Grace's amendment. As for the ladies, they, I suppose, give more pain than they feel, and therefore my concern naturally devolves on the gentlemen. As for the little ones, I left my good Lord Archbishop a little out of order; I hope it is over, for though he probably neither knows, or designs it, I assure your Grace, the Archbishop gives me his blessing every time I see him smile. Caroline gives her humble duty to your Grace; I beg mine to my Lord Duke."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

[1745?], January 1. Wellwyn.—"Our friends at Chelsea! alas! Madam, how many melancholy scenes are there in the world, when we meet them so often within the narrow circle of our familiar friends! What a comfortable reflection is it to consider that there is a world where they that give us joy will be under no necessity of giving us sorrow too, which in our present scene is inevitable! Mrs. Montague seems to be for picking a hole in my philosophical surtout; I give her joy; it shows her present situation stands in no need of philosophy; when it does, she will speak with more reverence of that which will rock her pains into patience more effectually than a coach and six. When Wit laughs at Wisdom, ravens should pull out its eyes, and young eagles should eat them. The surest symptom of a sound understanding is neither to fear nor value wit. Lady Wallingford—to whom I beg my best thanks and respects—surprises me with her goodness. The mode of the world is to be extremely civil, but safely too, to shine away in promises, provided they have evasions in their pocket; but to remember those that forget themselves, and solicit for trouble, this is a character that would make saints in modern Rome, and would have made goddesses in that of old. I know but one lady on earth that

rivals her in this most amiable character, but Providence, which inspires such thoughts and considers the will as the deed, has saved Lady Wallingford any further trouble.

"Mr.* Leigh has relented, and my neighbour is returned to his own house in peace. I hope this discipline has had its proper effect, and given him a heart fit for his grey hairs.

"Ecclesiasticus, with me a most favourite author, says:—Much experience is the crown of old men, and the fear of the Lord is their glory. If Mrs. Leigh has given him this crown, and he will wear it, 'tis the most valuable present he ever received in his life, and I thank Mrs. Leigh, by Lady Wallingford, for giving my friend a better ornament for his head than the most rosy beaver he can possibly put on."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1745, January 17. Wellwyn.—"I find by your Grace's letter that the country, and so sweet a country, as your Grace's is, is capable of having a rival, and that rival a perfect dowdy. I must needs own, that, if the country gives ladies the spleen, town is their proper remedy, that region of assafœtida. But your Grace will say it has its aromatics too; it has, but some of them are rather too strong, and all of them are apt to affect the head to its disadvantage, and to lead weak ones by the nose. But to balance all this, and ten times as much more, your Grace says, it gives you the conversation of your friends; if it does, I grant Elysium could not give you more. Your Grace mentions but two in your letter, and if a maxim I read in your Grace's book at Bullstrode be true, I am very near hating them both, for that says:—'The more a man loves any of your sex, the nearer he is to hating them.'

"As for what Mrs. Donellan says, there is so much gallantry in it, that in pure decency I must consider it as rank raillery; but I do not like it the worse for that: to be rallied by a young lady at my time of day is a favour not to be despised. And as for Lady Andover, pray, Madam, my best respects, and tell her ladyship, that by the quotation your Grace takes from her letter, I think she resembles the very beautiful youth—mentioned, as I remember, by Herodotus—who, perceiving his person had kindled a passion in a person very unfit for thoughts of that nature, thought proper to disfigure himself, to prevent a consequence he so much disapproved.

"And now, Madam, since we are at this play, pray, what is your Grace like? 'Tis very odd, yet it is very true, you are like—the destruction of Sodom; you have brought an ancient gentleman and his two daughters together, made him drunk with vanity, and were not they better and he older than somebody else, how could your Grace's goodness be responsible for the consequence? And now, Madam, what am I like? Why I am like,—no I am not *like*, but actually *am* a fool, and if your Grace does not burn this letter, I will not, I cannot forgive you."

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* *Sic:* but the context seems rather to suggest *Mrs.*

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1745, February 2. Wellwyn.—"Your Grace's goodness outruns me in all my selfish designs, and while my dulness is preparing my petitions, shows me that my gratitude should be paying my thanks. I am as much surprised, as obliged, by Mr. —— kind zeal to serve one of whom he knows so little. It would appear quite unaccountable to me, did I not conclude from this instance, that your Grace is not only my friend, but my friend-maker; had you found the philosopher's stone and could turn all to gold, it would not enable you to make so noble a present. At the name of the two ladies that your Grace mentions my mind is necessarily struck with those two brightest of ideas, that of beauty, and that of wit. Those two brightest shafts in the female quiver, how dangerous to our sex! but still more dangerous to themselves, unless Heaven confers the shield of discretion at the same time, as It has done, abundantly, in these instances; otherwise I should have wanted courage to give them joy of either of those accomplishments, so courted, envied and admired, in the world.

"I sincerely grieve at your Grace's article from our friends at Chelsea. Suffering merit is the most affecting object of consideration upon earth; if we are good, it threatens us; if we are bad, it threatens us still more; and our concern for others may then be supposed to be very real and sincere, when it is accompanied with an apprehension for ourselves. I beg my best wishes and and respects when your Grace sees them again, and please to let them know that I desire they would take care of their health, for they cannot suffer in it without putting others out of order.

"Caroline gives her humble duty to your Grace; her lover is in Stirling Castle, so that she has a chance of being a widow before she is a wife.

"I shall religiously observe your Grace's injunction in your postscript, nor ever dedicate any thing to that gentleman, but my humble service and thanks when you see him next, and my gratitude for ever."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

[1745 ?], August 21. Tunbridge Wells.—"I had the honour but this very post, of two letters from your Grace, one of July 22nd, one of August 20th. As for the comedians your Grace met in Nottinghamshire I have no cause to envy you, for we have, at least as good a pack at this place. We have men of seventy that represent boys of eighteen, and boys of eighteen that represent changelings, and many of your own sex that represent witches in the morning, and angels in the afternoon, and women at night.

"The subject of the book you mention can never be too often reviewed; for *faith* like *virtue*, is never at a stand; it is ever in advance, or decline, and in one view it is more material than our speculations on virtue, for it is the root of it; and as for all my *merely moral* friends, I shall be sure to trust them, when I am

sure it is not their own interest to cut my throat. I am truly much concerned for the bad news from Chelsea; God Almighty alter things for the better.

"But now comes a severe calamity of another kind; why did your Grace let me know you was at Wellwyn? Indeed it grieves me, but I have ever been in the wrong box. As to poor Caroline, I fear the affair proceeds; I made her write to my Lord Lichfield, and she received a letter from him that became the prudence of his character and the nearness of his relation, but I fear it had too little effect. All I can bring her to is that she will not marry him in his present circumstances, and in that I am persuaded I may rely on her. She is at Wellwyn. As for your Grace's enquiries about her I take it infinitely kind, for what but your own good heart could put them into your Grace's head? The Duke of N. received me with great complaisance, ministerially kind, took me by the thumb as cordially, as if he designed it should go for payment in full. In a word, Madam, with great civility—for which I thank your Grace—he told me the King had made some promises, and that he—the Duke I mean—had his own pre-engagements, but that he would certainly do what he could; so that if nothing is done, he has kindly prepared me for it.

"As for Mr. Roberts, he is here, he returns his humble respects for the honour your Grace does him in supposing him of consequence, and says that he heard Mr. Pelham say:—'*that besides my own good title, the Duchess of Portland was a person, and character, which it was very proper for both him and his brother very much to regard.*' And Mr. Roberts added from himself, that, if your Grace would be so kind as to persist in your kind pressing in my favour, it must necessarily succeed; that your Grace's kind importunity, would be the Duke's full excuse to competitors; that application should be made, whatever fell, or was likely to fall; that a deanery was as easy to be got as a prebend, as things stand; that he would be sure to be my remembrancer with Mr. Pelham.

"The copy of your Grace's reply to the Duke, which you are so indulgent as to favour me withal, is such an instance of your Grace's indefatigable favour, that I know not what to say; I have been so little used to such treatment, that I am at a loss how to behave under it. To return my humble thanks falls very short of my real meaning.

"Lady Oxford did me great honour by having me in her remembrance. I saunter, like your Grace, from oak to oak, but I miss many oaks I was formerly acquainted with in this place. I enquired after them of the neighbours, who tell me they are gone to sea, but that meeting foul weather in their passage, they threw the balance of Europe overboard, which was picked up by a French man-of-war."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1745, September 17. Tunbridge Wells.—"I pretend not to instruct by my letters, but to obey, and to stand candidate for

your good opinion, by showing my sentiments close with your own. As for poor Colly, his impudence diverts me, and his morals shall not hurt me, though, by the way, he is more fool than knave, and like other fools, is a wit. He has a little wit, a little humour, and a little knowledge, and will lose none on't.

"Pray to how many better companions can your Grace help me, within the bills of mortality? It was prudery in Mrs. M. to tell tales, and 'tis your Grace's compliment to her prudery to take notice of it. I honour Mrs. M. for what is truly valuable in her, which is much; yet have I writ a satire on her in my heart, but racks shall not extort it from me. Lady Murray I have long known something of, and love her, but your duchess deserves not so much of your esteem. I propose, Madam, staying here as long as the weather will permit, and then, after a few days spent in London, waiting on your Grace. Your kind concern for poor Caroline is an obligation to me, who am anxious for her welfare. I am heartily glad to hear so good news from Chelsea; there seems to be much real worth in that family, and its scarcity should make it precious. Mrs. M's 'many people, and little company' is prettily, and truly said; but let her not complain, she shines the more, she has often held me by the ear till all about her were annihilated, and, in a numerous assembly, there was neither company nor person but herself. There have been two or three ladies more here whose sense is not amiss. Mr. Roberts, Madam, is gone. Your Grace will hear soon from Mrs. M.; she is much better for the waters. I know more of her than ever I did before; she has an excellent and uncommon capacity, which ambition a little precipitates, and prejudice sometimes misleads, but time and experience may make her a finished character, for I think her heart is sound. As for your friend Mrs. K. I esteem her, as I do the Portias and Lucretias; her fame rolls down to me through days of old. You see, Madam, I lay myself entirely at your Grace's mercy. You may quite ruin me, if you please, with a lady, in whose opinion I have an ambition of standing fair."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

[1745, Wellwyn.]—"The melancholy cast of your Grace's letter inclines me to observe that the world is our school; much discipline and few play days belongs to the nature of it. We have, notwithstanding, pleasures allowed us here; but they are *moderate* pleasures, and if we aim at *more*, we shall lose even those, that is, we shall be whipped for it. And yet not to aim at more is somewhat difficult, for, as we have a glorious holiday before us in the other world, where there are large delights, we are endowed with appetites and desires proportioned to them, which desires we are very apt to let loose here among objects too little to satisfy them; whence unhappiness necessarily follows. For unhappiness is nothing but disappointment of our desires; and happiness is the contrary.

"It is plain, then, Madam, that moderation of desire is the single receipt for happiness on earth, and our most gracious Governor would have us tolerably happy even here: but how shall He bring it about? If He leaves us to ourselves, our desires grow exorbitant, our minds take no measure of the things about us, but gape as wide as if we were already in the land of immortality, and consequently they must famish on all the world can give.

"This, Madam, accounts for what seems very surprising, though it is very common: how often see we persons, possessed of all that earth affords, as truly wretched, as if they were destitute of every blessing in life! How comes this to pass, when their accommodations are so large? Because their desires are larger; because they let loose that proportion of desire after temporals, which was designed only for eternals. In a word, because they cannot bring down their highset palates to the relish of a *moderate* repast. The chief cause of human misery is this, that men are hot in eternal pursuit of that which does not exist.

"Since such is our folly, what shall we do? Shall we be left to the fatal effects of it, and so be quite miserable? No, God Almighty is too good to suffer it, His wisdom interposes where our prudence fails. He has a divine art of reducing us to the relish of *moderate* goods, since on earth there are no other; when we will not choose the means of happiness, he will force them on us. He kindly sends fears and afflictions, and when they once show their ugly faces, then bare relief is happiness, escape is triumph, and moderate enjoyments rise to high delights. When a highlander's broad sword is waved over the head of a fine lady, her radiant eyes are opened, she sees that to be true which before appeared incredible. If he will suffer that fair neck and shoulders to continue their acquaintance a little longer, she finds it possible to make a shift to spend one evening, with some tolerable degree of content, without opera, ball, assembly or gallant. But I hear your Grace say, Is the man mad? Is this his apology? Madam, a volume would not hold it, and—if it please God—before the week now begun is expired, I will have the honour of looking like a fool before you for my repeated transgressions."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1745, October 25. North End.—"Since, I find, your Grace is in the secret, give me leave to observe, that writers, like other sinners, when they have once given away to the first temptation, are carried farther than they designed, and sin on till they are—what, Madam? You can guess, 'tis a bad word, and I will not shock your Grace with it.

"Lady Andover does me honour in remembering that I exist. Yet 'tis all compliment; there is no sincerity, or she had not disappointed my assignation with her. Why go to town! Dishonourable creature! She is gone only with her husband!

"But your Grace, who are infinitely kind to your friends in such extremities, has taken care that the disappointment shall not

prove fatal. Another mistress is the only cure, and oh, the charms, and those charms in my bedchamber, oh, the charms of a wicker chair! My Lady Duchess, if you love Lady Andover, and I think you do, and I think she is well enough for a woman's love; if you love her, I say, let her not know of this rival, a rival so irresistible, and that opens her arms, to take us wholly in, and hold us fast for hours—perhaps, fast asleep—it must make her despair; it must break—and let it—her unfaithful heart.

"Madam, the fit is going off, I am coming to myself. I have often seen our friends at Chelsea; they are pretty well, and very good, and therefore will certainly be quite well in time. I am glad with regard to your Grace, and indeed—as in duty bound—with regard to the Church, that what is most episcopal in your family is so well recovered. Then the public papers inform us, that the Kirk has lately behaved very well. I begin to relapse; nonsense is a distemper the bark will not cure; though it may have its intermissions, those intermissions are but short. I know but one instance to the contrary, and an ambition to converse with that instance will hasten me to Bullstrode, soon as possible."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1745, [November, Wellwyn].—"I cannot thank you too soon or too much for the late great favours received at Bullstrode, a place where a person cannot receive civilities but he must receive honours at the same time, nor can he return his humble acknowledgments, without being proud under his humility. But, I assure your Grace, I am as sincere as I am proud, while I return my gratitude for your great goodness to me.

"I rid very hard, and got hence by three of the clock, which you know, Madam, is dinner time. My maid told me she was glad I came so opportunely, for by that means she thought verily that she could provide me a dinner again the next day. I suppose the wench had heard that I eat six times a day at Bullstrode and was for balancing the account, nor was this the sole felicity of my journey. My man was ill of a fever; therefore, when we came to St. Albans, he desired I would stop a minute, that he might take something, being ill; and as he said he thought his blood was much inflamed, I stopped, and left him the liberty of having what he pleased; on which he drank half a pint of hot brandy; then we put on apace, and by the time we had rid four miles, his horse stumbled, though it was the rider drank the brandy. On the jolt, Tom waked, and cried, 'Sir, I have dropped the bag!' I was in a passion at his negligence, and told him I should then have nothing for dinner. 'No, sir,' says he, with great joy, 'the venison is here; I only have dropped your leather bags.' Now, Madam, in those bags was nought but my shirts, wigs, shoes, razors, &c.; in short my whole travelling estate. On being a little disgusted even at that loss, he told me, to be sure somebody must pick it up, and no doubt would bring it after us; and then trotted on with great tranquillity of mind. Whilst I was considering how I should best

manage the handle of my whip to knock him off his horse, and leave him to be picked up by the next comer, with my bags, a servant from my, and your Grace's, honest landlord at the Red Lion overtook me with what was lost; which was left on a horse-block in his inn-yard. Now judge, Madam, if I stand in need of highlanders in order to be undone. How long it may be before they strip me of my shirt, which I so happily recovered, Heaven only knows.

"Beware of Jesuits. 'Oh no,' says your Grace, 'he appears to be the honestest man that ever lived, not only to me, but to everybody; even bishops take him to their bosom.' True, Madam, and what does that amount too? It is no more than saying thus:—'I can't but think him an honest man, *because* he plays the knave to perfection.'"

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1746, April 6. Wellwyn.—"I had not omitted my duty in returning your Grace my early sincere acknowledgments for your particular favours when I was in town, but as soon as I returned I was taken ill of a fever, nor can I yet get clear of it. I heartily condole with every branch of your little family for what they suffered in their late illness, and bless God for their recovery.

"Your Grace's kind regard to my little interests is extremely good in you, whatever shall be the event of these casual things, your Grace can never lose the satisfaction of having endeavoured to befriend one, whose chief title to your favour is his being deeply sensible of it.

"Your Grace gives me great satisfaction, by your account of your friend Mrs. G. Cole's better health; and I shall ever set a high value on whatever favours she is pleased to confer on me.

"Yesterday, Madam, the famous Mr. Whiston called on me, who prophesied severe things to this poor nation; he pretended to support himself by Scripture authority; how just his pretence I cannot absolutely say; but I think there are so many public symptons on the side of his prophecy, as to hinder it from being quite ridiculous.

"I wish, Madam, I could at all contribute to your amusement, but sickness is but a bad correspondent; however, 'tis better to have it for a correspondent than a companion. May your Grace ever keep it at a distance, yet not out of sight; for, as I take it, the sight or thought of sickness is the enjoyment of health, and half the world are unhappy under the greatest blessing Heaven can bestow, purely from forgetting that it may be taken from them."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

[1746], June 12. Wellwyn.—"I have been so thrown back in my hoped recovery by a severe cold that I cannot keep my word in being in town on the 17th. My physician tells me he cannot set me up for such a journey under ten days, and I take for

granted your Grace by that time will be out of town. I have a brother chaplain in waiting that will do my duty at Court till my health permits me to come to his relief.

"I should have been extremely glad to have paid my duty to your Grace; but as to the other point, viz. of having my curiosity satisfied by being let into the particulars mentioned in your last, that is of no moment; your Grace, I am satisfied, will do what you can, and if I have the honour of hearing from you, it would add to the favour if your Grace would let me know how fares our good friend of Chelsea, of whom you grieved me with so melancholy an account in your last.

"Madam, I beseech you take care of your health. I have a very particular sense of the value of it at present, not only from my own want of it, but from the disorders and indispositions of many of my friends and acquaintances. One of them, I find, has the honour of being known to your Grace, I mean Mrs. Rolt, from whom I received last post a most melancholy letter; her sole hope, it seems, is in Bristol waters, to which she is going, and if she should fail, her children will fall into their father's hands, which is a most surprising way—one would think—of falling into ruin. In ancient story it is said of one Saturn, that he eat up all his children. As for my cousin Rolt I fear he will drink up his. He has already drank up one half of an ample estate, and seems to be exceedingly dry still, so high runs his fever, caught by perpetually basking in the too sultry beams of that sex, which seems designed by Providence for the comfort of wise men, and the ruin of fools."

Postscript.—"Madam, I beg my humble duty to my Lord Duke, and humble service to Mr. Ashard,* and—if your Grace pleases—to Mr. M——. When I last saw his Grace of N——, he told me he had two or three to provide for before me. Three are just now preferred, but perhaps his two or three, like Falstaff's men in buckram, may grow to nine or ten. For what fictions in the extravagance of poesy can exceed the wonderful realities in humble life? Your Grace will please to answer this puzzling question in your next."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1746, July 17. Wellwyn.—"Your Grace's particular regard for Miss Parsons confirms me in that in which I need no confirmation, your just discernment, for most certainly her excellent disposition is indisputable. God forbid it should fall into bad hands. Your Grace's apprehensions about her are such as every true friend of hers must entertain, for she seems left absolutely naked of defence but her own prudence, and in so young a creature, and beset by such a world, how precarious a defence is that! I pressed her therefore—after I heard your Grace's kind invitation—to the utmost of my power to be frequently at Bullstrode, and with your Grace's friends in town; for I cannot but have for her a very sincere regard and affection.

* *Sic*: Young spells this name indifferently with a *c* or an *s*.

"Business, Madam, detained me near the town till this week. I was to wait on Mr. M.; but he was not at his chambers. I humbly thank your Grace for his kind intentions towards me. I am very glad, but not surprised, that he thinks with me with regard to, &c. Madam, 'tis impossible, 'tis impossible, though, I confess, the Devil has sufficient footing in the world, and never fails of a good place at Court. Poor Mr. Ashard! I am very sorry for him, but from many late instances of the like nature in our own neighbourhood, I have great reason to hope he will do well. For my own part, who lately crept out of the same condition he is now in, I am far from being re-established in my health. As I have often in like condition found great benefit from Tunbridge, I have good hope from drinking these waters a due time; and when it shall please God that I am well, I know I shall be better by waiting on your Grace, which I had much rather do now, if it was in my power. Lady Bute I have formerly seen, but before she was Lady Bute. From what I then saw, I very easily believe what I now hear of her ladyship's excellent accomplishments and character. I am glad your Grace has the happiness of her conversation; I should be pleased and proud to partake of such a feast, but my ambition has lately met with more rebukes than one; which should, and, I hope, will, make me wiser than to aim at anything more than humble content for the future, which is prudence at all ages, but double prudence at mine."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1746, September 23. Wellwyn.—"I have not yet got a curate, but hope sometime next month to get some neighbouring clergyman to officiate for me one Sunday, and that will give a fortnight's absence, which I propose to dedicate to my paying my duty at Bullstrode, if nothing intervenes to prevent it.

"Your Grace delights in curiosities; I therefore enclose one to you which is worth the best cockle shell in your museum. A snail's shell it must not be, for mine is all expedition; if your Grace had such a thing as a flash of lightning in the corner of your cupboard, it would be the most proper return you could make for my present. It was indeed a clap of thunder to Lady C——t, who is now panting in the Irish seas under the consequences of it.

"Your Grace's mentioning the Duchess of ——— in your last put me in mind of this letter. I received it the next day after date; I desire you to keep it by you till I have the honour of waiting on you. If the Duchess plays her cards no better than my lady, she will be in danger in a little time of being called *hussy* instead of *her grace*. I send it for your private amusement only, and beg it may be a secret, for I would not appear as a confidant in such an affair, much less as the betrayer of the betrayer.

"How one false step naturally betrays us into another! Had her ladyship never married her grandson, she had never been a

liar, and if she had never been a liar, she had never been transported, which, in this case, is, I think, a severer fate than that of being hanged.

"I beg, Madam, my humble duty to my Lord Duke, my service to Mr. Achard and best wishes to all, especially to Lady Harriet. When I am at a loss for a curate I cannot forget his grace the little Archbishop. What if he made his first ecclesiastical campaign in the fields of Wellwyn! His innocence would recommend his doctrine to my parishioners exceedingly."

Postscript.—"This moment I receive advice that the happy couple are soon to return from Ireland in perfect peace. Since there are no spiders in Ireland, I wonder how so many webs are spun there to catch English butterflies. Her ladyship is still, I believe, but a fair penitent, as well as your Grace's duchess; I wish they were both as ready to repent of their sins, as they are of their follies. But that is the case of but few, and the reason I take to be this, viz. that *folly's* hell is in this world, but the hell of *sin* in the next. But not many let their minds go a woolgathering to the next world, and yet without it, there is no prudence, safety, reputation, or peace in this, and they that seek them without it, not only do, but must fail, because it is contrary to the Almighty's fixed and original plan and law, which no human effort or wisdom, we are sure—if sure of anything—can possibly repeal.

"I am deeply concerned for poor Miss Cole, and beg my hearty service to Miss Parsons when your Grace sees her."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1746, October 16. Wellwyn.—"Compassion is not only a duty, but a blessing; it is attended with a pleasure, not only, in common with all other virtues, from a consciousness of doing right, but with a pleasure of its own peculiar growth, which the uncompassionate can never enjoy. The more sensible we are of others' calamities, the more sensible we must be of our own escape; as we lament the former, we bless God for the latter; the first gives us pain, the second, delight; hence arises that mixed sensation which an honest heart feels at the objects of pity, which to many is a riddle, and which, while they feel, they do not understand.

"What an object of compassion did your Grace lay before me in your last! A human creature, and one of the tenderest sex, and one of the most deserving in it, and an old acquaintance, and a friend, and a friend that has so much contributed to the happiness of others, to be thus afflicted! If this was all, the account would be very melancholy; but this is far from being all; it strikes me in a light still more affecting, for consider, Madam, a person deprived of reason by any cause, by pride, malice, or impetuous desire, is one of the most melancholy objects under heaven; and if it touches us so much even when the cause is *criminal*, how much must we be affected when *virtue* is the occasion of it! How much more affected still, when a

virtue so rare as that of filial affection is the occasion of it! I call it a *rare* virtue, because family-affection naturally descends; it descends by *instinct*, and when it *ascends*, it is pure virtue that turns the stream.

"How virtuous, therefore, as well as unfortunate must our dear friend be! And *unfortunate virtue* calls for all the compassion and concern which the most tender heart can yield. But then we should consider on this occasion that virtue itself may be guilty of excess, that we may stretch it into a fault, and what you, Madam, will hardly believe, that we may love a parent too well; which we actually do, when we give him our *whole* heart. There's another who claims the supreme seat in it. Had our poor friend considered that her Father is still alive, that He can never die, that He is about her path and about her bed; that Father, I mean, which gave her that father whom she mourns, that Father who, though He has angels for His children, not only permits but *invites*, nay, *commands* her to call Him by that *tender* name, and promises that, if she does so, that* He will give her His *blessing*; such a blessing as no parent on earth can give, that He *will never leave her, or forsake her*—as her other parent has done—but stretch His wing over her, with the utmost tenderness, both in this life, and the next. Had, I say, Madam, our poor friend *fully* considered this, it would have been such a cordial to her heart, as would have made her laugh at Monroe; *this* consideration would have done what medicine cannot do, it would have softened her affliction, and have prevented the calamity.

"A calamity, I mean, to us; for what it is to her, God only knows. We know no more of her than of the state of the dead; she is actually dead to our manner of life, nor know we at all what her present condition is as to happiness or misery. That, doubtless, depends on the nature of the ideas that pass through her mind, and that we know no more of than of the dreams of those that sleep. The beggar in his dream may be a king, and she, under this melancholy appearance, may be happy for ought we know to the contrary. For *now*, Madam, she exists in a *separate state*; we exist under the reign of reason, she is in the kingdom of wild imaginations only.

"Let this consideration, Madam, comfort us; let us hope the best of her, as we do of friends departed in *another* way, let us look on her as a *living* monument of the *really* deceased; and then, like other monuments, it will naturally put us in mind of the vanity of human life, and it will do that kind and needful office in a manner as much more effectual than other monuments, as it is more uncommon and surprising than they. Thus her *reputed* calamity will be our *real* benefit, and such, past dispute, God Almighty designs it to be. For all His *dispensations* to particular persons are *instructions* to mankind in general. His good providence designs one person to be, as it were, a glass to another, and to show us our *possible* misfortunes by the *actual* misfortunes of those about us. Since then these melancholy, but most useful glasses are around us without number, since we may see ourselves

* *Sic.*

in them every hour of the day, methinks our souls should be better dressed than generally they are; but these are glasses in which *birthday* suits make but a poor appearance, and therefore we turn from them. How many heads are now full of birthday suits! How little do they think of that hour when the gayest tulip bed of St. James's on the 28th inst. will look as despicable in their sight as the wardrobe of Long Lane! A fine *deathbed suit* we should purchase at any rate; it is by far the most glorious apparel we can put on; but pray, Madam, don't tell them so, for they will certainly think you mad.

"Madam, I am still under difficulties about my waiting on you; my schemes have been disappointed, and at present 'tis not in my power to fix the time. Miss Lee gives her duty to your Grace; I beg mine, and humble service, and best wishes to my Lord Duke, Lady Wallingford, Mr. Achard, and those beautiful flowers of innocence that smile about the table, and might make a nosegay for an archangel, but I hope 'twill be very late before he gathers them."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1746, October 28. Wellwyn.—"I have got myself a curate, and was preparing to set out for Bullstrode, but an unforeseen accident denies me the pleasure and honour of waiting on you, and what is still worse is that it is a public misfortune which includes my own. The murrain among the cattle is got within four miles of us, to a place called Wotton, and I am obliged with another justice to hold a sessions once or twice a week, to put the Act of Parliament in execution for preventing its spreading further, and to pay the poor sufferers what they are entitled to by that Act, provided they perform the conditions of it.

"I have, Madam, endeavoured to get a curate in *this* capacity also, but I find it is impossible, so that I am absolutely confined, and for how long is quite uncertain.

"One particular fact I must tell your Grace, which will show very particular care is necessary. A farmer had half-a-dozen cows drop at once; by Act of Parliament he is obliged to dig a hole and bury them; he was willing to spare that pains, and finding an old chalk-pit, he tumbled them in, and threw earth over them; but it happened that this pit was so near the road, that in a few days the road became offensive to passengers, and if it gives them nothing more than offence, happy are they.

"The following pretty tale for a tragedy may perhaps be new to your Grace. Lady C—— at 59 is smitten with the gay feathers of 33, and after short ceremoning (?) of billing and pruning, takes him into her nest. 33 finds it very well feathered, and had a great mind to pluck some plumes of it for his private use. This made Dame Partlet bristle against him. At this the cockscomb rose and could not bear it; it came to a little sparring, war was declared, and 33 must show all his generalship on this occasion. To this end he thought it prudent to strengthen himself by allies, and it happened very fortunately for him, that there was

a young princess in the family of 18, whom 59 took from the dunghill, and tossed her into a tub of soapsuds, out of which she soon rose, like Venus out of the sea, the delight of her ladyship's eyes, and the confident of her heart. This Venus fell in love with Mars; which was very happy for him, for she returned the favours she received from him with the key of her ladyship's escritoire, where he found the will, which has made him run mad. In his distraction he snatches both away to Ireland, where the young princess personates her ladyship, who is kept out of eyesight, for fear of telling tales, and as she before discovered the undutifulness of her husband, so very lately are her eyes open as to the treachery of her bosom-friend, and yet none but these two are ever suffered to come near her. Can your Grace easily feign a greater picture of distress? I own I cannot, and yet for this terrible sore, she neither has, nor is like to have, any other plaister than potatoes and milk.

"How dearly do we often pay for the gratification of an idle desire! If such tales as these were *fiction*, they would be of use; but when they are *real*, methinks they might make any one tremble that is within the possibility of the like misfortune. Pray, Madam, make this a secret, or conceal its author."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1746, November 23. Wellwyn.—"It grieves me that I cannot wait on you, but the occasion that subsisted when I wrote last still continues, and what is worse increases. Nor are the poor cattle the only sufferers; a pleuretic fever is epidemical in this neighbourhood; few escape it, and many die. And yet the survivors are as gay as ever, and as free from apprehensions of death as if they were immortal. This is so strange and yet so true that it naturally excites mere worldly curiosity to enquire into the cause of it.

"Can you conceive, Madam, the cause of so astonishing a truth? I take it to be this. The shortness and casualty of life, and the certainty of death, are such obvious and quite indisputable points, that it seems nonsense to talk about them; and from not talking, they come to not thinking about them too. Those points want no proof, and therefore they give them no attention; that is, they think not of them at all, for the oddest reason in the world, viz., because the points are so very certain, that they should think of little else.

"By this time, I hear your Grace say:—'Tis pity this gentleman had not continued in his pulpit; he preaches very well; I suppose his parishioners will have the favour of my letter next Sunday.' Why truly, Madam, this is naturally enough said, but how comes it to be natural? This, I conceive, to be the reason. viz., that on any serious subject a man can't talk common sense, but it will fall in with something we have heard from the pulpit, and hence we naturally enough call it *preaching*. But this is not so much to the discredit of what is said as to the credit of the pulpit; showing, evidently, that religion and

good understanding are the same thing. And if, Madam, you call what I have said *preaching*, I will present you with many profligates, that by the same rule your Grace must call *divines*. Your Grace little thinks, therefore, that, while you accuse me of preaching, you are putting Sir ——— into orders, and presenting ministers of State with lawn sleeves. For even these, in conversation, will take the side of virtue, not out of conscience, but out of pride; not to save their souls, but to preserve their characters as men of sense.

"But I am out all this while; I have been talking to your Grace as a divine, whereas I find you are a physician; I had one of your Grace's patients with me this morning, Mr. Terrick, from whom your Grace need desire no other fee than that of being one of his audience, by which—if I know your Grace's taste—you will think yourself richly paid. How comes it to pass, Madam, that I have so many rivals in your Grace's favour? How comes it to pass, that at every turn, I hear of your Grace's goodness? Is this like a Duchess? Is not this being a little out of character? If you continue this extraordinary practice, I shall return the *preacher* upon you, for be assured one good example, and in such a station, out-preaches all the pulpits in Christendom.

"I therefore thank your Grace for your excellent sermon, and I hope I shall be much the better for it; for what can be such a spur to age, as to have youth get the start of it in what is right? Nay, if it does not get the start of age, but only treads on its heels, even that is a great reproach, and men never bid fairer for virtue than when they fly from shame as well as guilt. But take it not ill if I call even you an old lady, for 'tis said:—'Wisdom is grey hairs, and an unspotted life is old age.'

"The good company your Grace has with you makes me still more regret my confinement at this place."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1746, December 5th. Wellwyn.—"I once saw a poor deserter shot in Hyde Park: six musketeers were employed in this melancholy office; the three first, stooping, shot at his breast, and then the other three shot over them at his head, and killed him after he was dead. Such, Madam, is your request supported by Mrs. Delany's; either of them would have struck dead the stoutest resolution I could possibly have taken to disobey your commands. But, Madam, my resolution was quite the contrary, and though I am in fact a deserter, yet am I an innocent one; or rather I am not a deserter, but taken prisoner by the enemy, and detained in chains, which I am willing to break, but the links of it are too strong, and too many. For first, Madam, next week's fast insists on my stay, secondly, your friend Mr. West, who is patron to my curate, calls him to town, and lastly, my little house is full of London guests, with whom I am on the foot of some form, and therefore can neither dislodge nor abandon them. This frosty weather thaws human hearts,

and as they sit round a good fire their kind affections flow in such abundance, that I find my friends disposed to oblige for some time.

"I would therefore, Madam, have you and Mrs. Delany reflect, that, if you had a person with you, whose company you desired, yet if his inclinations were elsewhere, you would consider him as absent still; so, on the other hand, as I assure you you have my inclinations, consider me as present, and treat me as kindly as you possibly can. When a man is personally present, form may supply the place of goodwill, and make handsome treatment consistent with real disregard; but kindly to treat the distant in place, this is pure virtue; this is the treat which angels give us, and therefore not absurdly to be hoped from those who bring them most into our thoughts.

"However, Madam, give me leave to own, that I have my objections to you: some few marks of mere mortality are still upon you. Your Grace is guilty of a fault, and of a fault which few would be guilty of; you oppress with your condescension and civilities; I am really out of countenance at your repeated kind invitations; and particularly, when your Grace thinks proper to distrust your own powers, and call in allies to assist your unreasonable indulgence towards me. My Lord Duke, the Dean, and Mrs. Delany! With such allies as these a less powerful potentate than your Grace might certainly make a most successful campaign. Suppose the Empress-Queen had a mind to prevail with the Prince of Monaco to accept of a million, and distrusting her own power should engage the King of France, and the Pope, and the Czarina, to succour her endeavour, and ensure her success; would not this be very extraordinary? Make a very small alteration, put parson for Prince, and your Grace may make the application."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1746, December 17. London.—"I am now in town, and passing by Whitehall I made my bow to your Grace's house, and was sorry to find it empty. To how many houses in this great town might I bow, in which I have formerly enjoyed agreeable conversation, but shall enjoy it no more! Whose inhabitants have taken a far longer journey from them than to Bullstrode! Such thoughts, Madam, will occur to people in years, and as age is naturally talkative, it will tease other folks with them. How like a perfect dream seems all that is past! And a dream it really is; all is absolutely vanished, all our plans, our labours, even our most innocent amusements and delights; all is as if it had never been, except virtue and vice. These, though past, are still with us: the first is immortal and cannot die, the second will be immortal too, unless it is put to death by repentance. Now, since as an Arabian proverb says, 'The remembrance of past joys is a sigh;' and since by the same way of speaking the infirmities of age may be called a groan, what fine music must a veteran make in so delightful a concert as is now at Bullstrode! Besides, conversing

with the blossoms of human life is apt to betray persons in years into a supposition that they are beings of the same nature, and in the same state of existence; which is an absolute mistake. For what is wisdom in the young is folly in the old, and so on the reverse; for which reason I once resolved to renounce your Grace's acquaintance, till I considered that the mischief of your Grace's age was balanced by the benefit of your example.

"Your Grace wonders what all this means, and what gives occasion to such random stuff. Why, Madam, to tell you the very truth, I am now in a coffee house waiting for a rascally attorney, who, having robbed me already of all my money, would now rob me of my time; and rather than do nothing—which is very tedious—I was determined to write nothing to your Grace."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1746, December 28. Wellwyn.—"I am sorry I could not have the honour and pleasure of waiting on your Grace after so many very kind invitations; but your Grace is in the midst of very agreeable company, which wants not that inspiration you are so well able to give. So surrounded, what, Madam, can you possibly want? If you call for the delicacies of art or imagination, Miss Parsons and Mrs. Delany have them at their fingers' ends; if to qualify these sweetmeats you call for the substantial bread of reason and argument, you have one with you who with that bread has strengthened man's heart against the insults of infidelity. Would your Grace, like Drake, travel round the world in search of curiosities? Madam, you may spare yourself that pains, the mighty S———,* like Atlas, on his broad shoulders will bring the world, like a rare show, to your own door; he can present you with all the wonders of Egypt, pour the sevenfold Nile into the basin at Bullstrode, and luckily—at this season—give your Grace a Pyramid, as a model for a Christmas pie.

"But think me not, Madam, so stupid or profligate as to depreciate his learned and excellent work; 'tis as useful as it is entertaining; 'tis an entertaining comment on the Scriptures, and a noble pillar to support our faith. What can so strengthen our belief as to have set before our eyes still extant monuments of ancient miraculous facts? By this means faith is almost lost in knowledge, and ridiculous infidels grow still more ridiculous in our sight. Most of our travellers go abroad to damage their religion, few to mend it; therefore this work is still the more commendable.

"I am truly glad, Madam, that Miss Parsons is at Bullstrode, of whose accomplishments and virtues I have a great opinion, and I consider it as a providential part of reward to her virtue that she is near your Grace. 'Tis obvious to conceive that it many ways may be of great advantage to her at this critical period of life; who knows but the whole future happiness of it may depend on this visit? On very minute causes depend the greatest events of our lives, and when on retrospect we observe them, we are apt

* Probably Thomas Shaw.

to cry, 'A lucky accident!' and so rob Providence of Its just glory and ourselves of the best instruction. When we read the various manners and fates of nations, we do justice to Providence, and acknowledge without hesitation the full evidence of the Divine hand over them. Providence is no less present to—what we are pleased to call—every accident of our lives, but Its interposition seems to [be] written there in a smaller character; in such as we cannot or will not read, but if our eyes are bad as to this point, it is worth our while to put on our spectacles; for I am persuaded that every person at all advanced in life may with due attention read as useful, and probably more affecting lessons in their own lives, as they can in their Bibles. And this I presume, among others, was one important reason, which gave the saying, '*Know thyself*,' so much fame for wisdom among the ancients.

"But your Grace will say, I know not myself when I write thus to you; but pray, Madam, why not? May I not have the liberty to repeat to you your own thoughts when I can furnish nothing better? And these are your own thoughts, as far as I can collect them from your conduct, and if that imposes on me, which of us, Madam, is most to blame?

"The infection among the cattle does not spread, and the pleuretic fever is more merciful than at first. I bless God I escaped it, and I rejoice at Miss Parsons' recovery; she has happily got rid of one pain in her side, but she is at a time of life very liable to another. If the shaft should come from a wrong quiver, your Grace will gently extract it, and apply a medicinal balm more precious than that of Gilead. For what tree drops wisdom? But though you are an excellent surgeon in these delicate cases, yet pardon me if I advise you—strange advice to a Duchess—to be a tinker, mend one hole by making another. It is the surest method, if I have any knowledge of the female heart."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1747, January 20. Wellwyn.—"On Saturday I sent your Grace a letter by a courier, like other princes, which I hope came to hand. That for the Duke of N——— I sent open, hoping you would be so good to seal it, after perusal. How affairs may go, by your Grace's favour, I cannot tell; but at present to me they are very mysterious. On your Grace's saying in a letter, about six weeks or more ago, that a friend of yours would be considered, if any removals beneath were occasioned by Bishop Clagett's death, through the dominion of self-love, I construed myself to be the man meant; and employed my thoughts in sumptuous plans for the consumption of my future abundance, taking it for granted that your Grace had received some intimation of Ministerial good intention towards me. From this golden dream I was awaked by the thunder of Mr. Roberts' letter, which indeed, did not kill me, but filled me with great astonishment, as being utterly at a loss how to reconcile his storm and your Grace's sunshine together. This astonishment was scarce over, when your Grace

filled me with new, by taking a dead cause in hand, for dead in all appearance it seemed to me. Now the question is, whether your Grace will please to explain, or to keep me in the dark, as they do nightingales, that they may sing the better. The first will be the kinder office, though the latter will be the better jest; but I acquiesce in this, that your Grace will certainly do what is most proper to be done.

"Madam, I write this letter, lest my courier should have got drunk, and given my letter directed to the Duke—to whom my humble duty—to some duchess of his own. She will be surprised to find herself in your Grace's company, with two or three Ministers of State about her; and who knows but that I might find my account in her acquaintance? 'Tis certain Nell Gwin made Dr. Ken a bishop.

"When Mrs. Delany calls for inspiration, the sun should call for light. I long to see, but not to judge, her performance; and I think I make a prudent choice; for if people have not more vanity than sense, it will ever be less pleasurable to criticise than to enjoy."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

[1747, January. Wellwyn.]—"As you are my oracle, I have obeyed your commands, but I consider my letter only as a carriage for your Grace's artillery. 'Tis your influence must do all the execution. But whatever success attends your engineering, I shall thank you, if not for success, yet for your good example. Few will do so much for their friends; what then will become of their foes? and yet they are recommended to their goodwill. But in this, as in some other debts, the verge of the court is a sanctuary. Virtue has great advantages; its chief advantage is out of dispute, but if it was out of the case too, methinks its present advantages should recommend it to our favour. What reputation does it gain! what esteem and affection secure! Men are so fond of reputation that by letters and arms, &c., they will take infinite pains to procure it; virtue would bring it at a cheaper rate, but that study they think harder than Algebra, and had rather lose a limb than another man's wife. I believe the reason why men prefer vice to virtue, is, because it must be owned that virtue is more like a wife than a mistress; virtue has equal—not to say far superior—joys, but then the joys of virtue have the misfortune of being unprohibited goods. If they want more pleasures than virtue can afford, why do they not seek them where your Grace and Mrs. Delany have so happily found them, in the curious and elegant arts? These, though not moral, are intellectual pleasures, which is next door to the former, and both are true marks of the human race, such as are incommunicable to the creatures beneath us, and such as may one day—if we please—set us on a level with those glorious beings which are at present infinitely above us, which are now our directors and guardians, but will be, if we are wise, our dear companions, and familiar friends.

"This is a triumphant consideration, and almost makes it an astonishment, that good people should be—which notwithstanding they are—afraid of death. Now, Madam, since to converse with those who have wisely chosen to gather their flowers of pleasure out of the two upper beds of human happiness, the *moral* and *intellectual*, and have left the leeks and onions of sensuality to those inferior beings whose poverty of nature affords them no better repast, and to those Egyptian constitutions of our own species, which have no passion for the Promised Land; since, I say, to converse with such is the greatest happiness and improvement in this scene, and the fairest promise of a better, your Grace will easily apprehend that it was with no small concern that I found myself debarred the possibility of waiting on you at Bullstrode, as I proposed to do."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1747, February 3. Wellwyn.—"I return my most cordial thanks for the pains you have been pleased to take in my favour; if that will not do, nothing will, and I resign my chimerical expectations, which it is a shame I should have retained so long. I consider it as a sort of a curse on the clergy, that the nature of their provision in *this* life keeps them generally gaping after preferment so long that they forget the next.

"Business, Madam, calls me to town in about three weeks, when I shall not fail to pay my duty at Whitehall. I received a letter last post requesting Miss Lee's consent to petition the Parliament for the sale of Frogmore. I know nothing at all about it; I suppose Miss Parsons may have talked with your Grace concerning it.

"Madam, I must let you know that I have a new neighbour at the house that was my Lady Cathcart's; she is an Irish lady, and this is the scheme (viz.): she is to have possession of this English villa in lieu of an old castle in the utmost north of Ireland, frowning over the sea, in which Lady Cathcart is to be imprisoned, till some generous knight-errant shall come to her relief, and rescue her immaculate virginity from the merciless tyranny of the giant Maguire.

"My law business is occasioned by disputes arising from the death of poor Mr. Lee. Mr. Murray is my counsel; and always shall be so, for he gave me excellent advice when he bid me expect nothing. And your Grace was an excellent prophetess, when you said we should not obtain a positive answer. None ever received other than an ambiguous answer from the ancient oracles, and your Grace knows who was the author of them, and yet Mr. Roberts and your Grace is for having me go to Delphos. I will, when I am in town, if your Grace continues of the same opinion."

Postscript.—"As I must soon resign in much more material points, I bless God I am resigned in this. I humbly thank your Grace for your kind wishes and endeavours, and shall call off my thoughts from so dead a scent to other game. I shall send them

to take a turn, not among the stalls, but among the tombs of Westminster Abbey. There ambition will go out as a taper in a damp vault. I will no longer set my thoughts on the pinnacle of the Temple, to take a view of the glories of the world, lest I fall down and worship him to whom they belong; nor do I, Madam, take this resolution altogether out of regard to that motive which *ought* to determine me to it; but out also of mere human, secular prudence, for I find that expectation, in a point of this nature, hurts me much more than despair."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1747, [March]. London.—"My long service to his Majesty, my court to the two brothers, and your Grace's recommendation, these three found a *very just title* to favour. The Duke's absolute promise to me myself, that after two or three were provided for, I should be preferred, this *heightens* that just title. Your Grace's last so signal interposition in my favour makes that just title *still higher*. After this to sue would be mean in any that wanted not bread; it would be mean at any time of life, but monstrous at mine. I am therefore fully resolved to stir no farther, which is only taking pains to be despised.

"But I long to thank your Grace for your zeal to befriend me, and therefore will wait on you punctually by ten to-morrow morning, being obliged to be at Lincoln's Inn before twelve."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1747, April 16. Wellwyn.—"Amid so many dear domestic engagements of heart, and so many loud calls from the gay and great around you, is it possible your Grace can think of one so much out of the way, of such an invisible being as your humble servant? I believe not; I must therefore let your Grace know that you commanded me to write, and that this comes therefore from the pen of obedience, not of presumption, but as I have no business and but little invention, what shall I say? I will tell you a melancholy, but true tale, of too late a date.

"A young woman—now about twenty-one—of good birth, and better principles, was some years in my family. About two years ago her much elder sister, who had long been governess of my family and me, married, settled in town, and carried her younger sister with her. A young apothecary in good business and circumstances courted her, won her affections, mutual vows of marriage were passed. Things standing thus, she came down for a month or two to me the latter end of last autumn; the thing was kept warm by letters every post; I invited, nay, pressed him to come down to her, knowing the pain of absent lovers; but business, he said, hindered him. She returned to town in high expectations, just before I was last there; the spark visited her, but his behaviour was cold; she burst into tears; on which he said:—'My dearest, I understand those tears; they upbraid me; and so far they agree with my own sentiments; I upbraid myself.

You feel, I see, the force of love, and therefore will the more easily pardon the same weakness in another. I feel it to distraction, but ask ten thousand pardons, 'tis for another person. I courted her some years ago, but she absolutely refused me, which occasioned the fatal step I have taken with you. But since you have been in the country, I have received intimations that she has thought better of it. The temptation is irresistible, and therefore we must part.' And so he took his leave; a duke could have done no more.

"The heathen deities were said to laugh at the perjuries of lovers; and if your Grace is as much a heathen as you are a goddess, you perhaps may laugh with them, but I cannot. If she lives a thousand years she'll never feel greater pain, and a good heart in pain is the most melancholy sight in the world. The sole consolation is, that a good heart in pain by pain will be made still better. But what young lady of your Grace's acquaintance would better her heart on terms like these!"

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1747, June 1. Wellwyn.—"I am glad your Grace has had so pleasant a ramble, and that you stopped short of Ireland, which is fond of an English Duchess, and cares not to let them fly home again, when once in her net. Cornbury, your Grace says, is a charming place and fit for such a master. My Lord I know not but from Mr. Pope* and your Grace; now Pope was a poet, and might therefore fib; my Lord Cornbury must therefore thank your Grace for the good opinion I have of him.

"The Duchess of Queensberry is, your Grace says, very entertaining, and so are all oddities; peevishness and pride are in their own nature the most ridiculous things in the world, and therefore must be extremely entertaining to such as only see, not suffer from them. If Mr. Foot† would take her Grace well off, you would find her much more entertaining still.

"I congratulate your Grace on the nuptials of Miss Parsons, that must, I think, be a very happy couple if it is not *his* fault; but a good wife sometimes makes a bad husband, as great prosperity corrupts good manners.

"Your Grace has sent Lord Titchfield to Westminster; no doubt it gave your Grace some care and concern, and so will every thing in life that is valuable and worth our wishes. It is greatly for my Lord's advantage, and therefore will be greatly for your Grace's happiness. Whatever advantages a private education may have, two very great ones it certainly wants, emulation and early experience in the tempers and talents of others; the first is the greatest spur to diligence, and the last is an absolutely necessary qualification for making any figure in public life. And why, Madam, should we despair of seeing his grandfather revive in him? When Lord Titchfield is Prime Minister, I will apply again for preferment, and not before. And I think myself happy that your Grace's wishes concur with my resolution of neither visiting nor writing any more.

* *Imitations of Horace*, I. Ep. vi. 60.

† Doubtless the actor, Samuel Foote.

"If your Grace continues your resolution of leaving the town in three weeks from the date of your letter, I shall not have the honour of waiting on your Grace the latter end of this month, when I am obliged to be on duty at Kensington. If, I mean, the gout will give me leave.

"Your Grace is jealous either of my bad head or bad heart without cause, for I do assure your Grace that I have not the least suspicion of insincerity in your Grace's favour to me, but with true gratitude of heart remember and acknowledge the manifold instances of your partiality to one who has no title to it, but his true sense of your Grace's prudence, virtues and accomplishments, so rarely seen in so eminent a situation, and so conspicuous a point of light.

"Your Grace is so kind as to invite me to Bullstrode; I have the assurance to invite you, Madam, and my Lord Duke, and Mrs. Montagu, &c., to Wellwyn. I am but four hours from you, and it may be some amusement to you to laugh at a country parson. Madam, I shall be proud of that disrespect."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1747, September 10. Wellwyn.—"The honour of your Grace's letter of the 5th I received not till yesterday, and rejoice that all is well. My Lady Oxford—to whom I beg my humble duty—does me great honour in remembering me, nor could I have a greater pleasure than an opportunity of waiting on her, for I *know* her Ladyship's worth, so that surveying the magnificence of the place would be the least part of my satisfaction at Wellbeck.

"I am concerned for Mrs. Delany's loss, but hope her apprehensions for Mrs. Dews will happily be disappointed. If we did not suffer as much—perhaps more—from what we fear than from what we feel, the world would be much happier than it is.

"His Grace the little Archbishop will not catch a fever in his return; the weather is now very moderate, and I beg him to be my guest in his return. Your Grace is so good as to think of taking me up in your journey, but before Miss Lee returns it [is] not in my power to be from home, and her I expect not till the beginning of next month, at which my Lord Lichfield comes to town to welcome his uncle Fitzroy to England, and then will bring Miss Lee along with him. As my present fate necessarily fixes me here, your Grace will be sure to find me on my post whenever you return, and I shall for the future consider my post as a post of honour, since it gives me an opportunity of paying my duty to your Grace in your Wellbeck expeditions.

"I dined yesterday at Stevenage in order to prevent the infection of the cattle from being spread among us, which has already begun from that place. Your Grace's friend at the Swan, for he pretends great intimacy with your Grace's family, is very solicitous for your health and return; the latter of which may, I suppose, make him so tender of the former."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1747, November 22. Wellwyn.—"Since my last I have been in a very bad state; my days more than ever painful, my nights almost insupportable. What I have felt is, I hope, to your Grace quite inconceivable, for so, I am sure, it must be if you was never afflicted with the rheumatism yourself; but I bless God I am much, very much better, yet still cannot go abroad without suffering by it. As soon as I can I shall attempt waiting on your Grace, for Miss Lee is with me now, and sends her humble duty.

"Though your Grace is so kind to offer it, there is no need of any other tar-water than that you mention; its proportions are exactly right, and it is the only medicine from which I receive any manner of relief.

"I do not yet hear anything of the result of your Grace's letter; 'tis this day a fortnight since I had Mr. Gore's promise to put it in Mr. Roberts'* hand, who, I suppose, had it the next day, and I desired it might be returned, which is not yet done.

"I humbly thank your Grace for the offer of your chaise; I may possibly ask the favour of having it meet me at Rickmansworth; but as yet I am all uncertainty and complaint.

"A second work by the author of Pamela will be published in a fortnight, and I fancy your Grace will find amusement in it, if, I mean, your taste is for a melancholy tale. I have heard it formerly, and not without a tear; but, as I remember, your Grace laughs at fiction; if so, I must visit others to see them weep. Fictitious tears are detestable, tears from fiction are not so. May your Grace never have occasion for any other."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1748, February 20. Wellwyn.—"As I opened my chamber window this morning pretty early, I was struck with the most beautiful landscape I ever saw. Houses, trees, woods, fields, all was covered with one entire sheet of snow, not a single footstep to be seen, not the least violation of its immaculate virginity. What an amiable emblem of universal innocence was this! But since, as I conceive, our innocence is not yet quite universal, I was obliged to think of it in another view, and imagine our whole polluted species doing penance in a white sheet—as the custom still prevails in Scotland—for their secret sins.

"Now please, Madam, to observe that I send all this to your Grace purely as an article of news; you in town are in another world, and know nothing of what passes in the natural scene of things. In your hotbed climate frost is warm, and in your sea-coal situation snow is black; in all things you are unlike us innocents in the country; with you honesty is not the best policy, nor is the worthy the most honourable man at Court.

"But your Grace long ere this censures me for my triviality; the weather, you say, is a common topic of discourse, that indeed you have often met with it in conversation, but that you never saw it

* Doubtless John Roberts, Henry Pelham's secretary. *Cf.* p. 302.

signed and sealed in the solemnity of an epistle before. Madam, I acknowledge the indictment, I plead guilty, I own my letter is a kind of frost-piece, and far fitter to make a page among the winter months of an almanac than in any other composition, but I assure your Grace that the frost has only nipped my fingers; it is got no farther; my heart lies ten degrees at least southward of my hand."

Postscript.—"Madam, that my Lord Duke may before this be on a better than a Chinese foot, and that the little ones may long trip it with the foot of fairies on Mrs. Delany's light, fantastic toe, before they know what pain means, is the hearty prayer of their humble servant and admirer. My humble service to my physician, Mr. Achard."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1748, [March. Wellwyn].—"Except Betterton, I never knew a player that was a good tragedian, and I never knew a dancing master that was a genteel man; and the cause is the same, they both overshoot the mark. This is a fault not to be feared in your Grace's band; and the reason is plain; for when persons of low education undertake characters of dignity, they can only guess at what it is, and so mistake; but when persons in high life do the same, they *know* what true dignity is; they, for the time, only change their *habits* and *names*; whereas the former must change their *manners* and *nature*, which is a much harder task.

"Besides, Madam, who so likely to act a part well, that is, to pretend to be what they are not, as persons of a Court education! Dissimulation, which is putting off ourselves, and simulation, which is putting on another's character, I take to be the whole science of a courtier. Nor do I speak this to their dishonour, but the contrary; for, through the depravity of our nature there is so much in the human heart that ought to be concealed, that I cannot but lay it down for a maxim that:—'They who know not how to dissemble, know not how to please.' If this startles your Grace's delicacy, consider, Madam, what is virtue, and religion itself? It is little more than curbing the natural tendencies of our perverse hearts. If, therefore, courtiers instead of curbing or altering their passions, which they can do to admiration on secular motives, they did the same on nobler views, courtiers would be the best Christians in the world. Your Grace may, therefore, congratulate some of your friends on being so near that, which, I daresay, they very little suspected.

"For the reason given above, I believe, with your Grace, that the play will be acted to great perfection; and there is no entertainment that could give me greater pleasure. But then I like not the reason you give for my being present at it. '*Since you are to preach so soon &c.*' says your Grace. I perceive, Madam, the satire that is couched in this argument; you mean, 'since you are to preach, you can't do wiser than to come to the best school for

acting a part.' I grant, Madam, no preacher can come up to his precepts, but then he thinks it is his duty so to do; whereas many a tailor has acted Alexander the Great, who never thought it his duty to demolish the Persian Empire. This is the difference —which your Grace would artfully sink—between a Roscius and a St. Paul.

"However your Grace's tartness should not rob me of an entertainment that would give me so great delight, had I not many real tragedies, at this severe season, acting round about me at home, in several families distresses, disorders, and deaths. And why has Providence ordered that melancholy tales should give us pleasure, but to habituate our hearts to tenderness, that they may not grow callous when opportunities offer, which may render our tenderness of some real use? I fear, Madam, I cannot be in town soon enough; but, if not, I am not utterly at a loss for some consolation under the disappointment of my desire to wait on you. For my comfort is, that even at this distance my pride will be highly gratified, though my poor famished eyes and ears do not share in the entertainment. For, as it is said, that Pygmalion's statue grew warm under his embraces, and of stone became flesh; so, I am persuaded, how dull and inanimate a figure soever *The Revenge* may make on the *common* stage, its condition will be very much altered under *such* hands; *their* approbation—not to mention their performance—will give it life.

"I beg my best compliments for the great honour done me."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1748, April 12. Wellwyn.—"Miss Lee joins me in my best thanks for the favours we lately received in town. I left it ill, and though I bless God I am better, yet have I no reason as yet to boast.

"This minute I received the rumour of a great victory in Flanders; I wish to-morrow's papers do not blast our laurels. I should have waited again on your Grace before I left town—as Miss Lee told me you desired—but I was in pain, and unwilling to make wry faces in company. Miss Lee has acquainted Lord Lichfield and her uncle the Admiral* of her determination to marry, so that matter is past retrieve, though against the pressing advice of us all. I wish Count Saxe found our officers as irresistible as they are found to be at home. This irresistible hero is at Portsmouth taking his leave of his friend General Blakeney, who there sets sail for Minorca. I expect him here at his return. He is purchasing a majority; the bargain is agreed between the parties, and the Duke's leave is waited for, and expected very soon. The man seems to me to be a plain and honest man, and I can see not much she could fall in love with unless it is his integrity, which, methinks, should have more charms for an old philosopher than for a young lady. I must give your Grace joy of Dr. Drummond's mitre. I hope all is well at Whitehall."

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* Fitzroy Henry Lee. *Cf.* p. 397.

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1748, June 4. Wellwyn.—"I much thank you for your very kind letter, which has set my heart at rest from the uneasiness of foolish expectation and suspense. Your Grace's endeavours were not the less kind for being unsuccessful, and to the kindness of a friend our gratitude is due, and not to his success.

"I should think myself happy to see Bullstrode in its glory, but I fear it will not be in my power; the bride* and bridegroom† &c. are with me, and how long their stay, and what expedition lawyers will make in their concerns with them—in which I am concerned —is as yet uncertain, for there is a suit still depending about her brother Lee's will, which we must attend till it is finished.

"A young gentleman was with me last week, with whom your Grace lately made an assignation. He has but four thousand pounds a year, and he came into my neighbourhood to take possession of a parsonage of one hundred and twenty pounds per annum, but it seems it is for the benefit of a minor.

"I give your Grace joy of a glorious piece of news, which probably you may live to see accomplished; I shall not. Mr. Whiston was with me this morning, and has assured me that eighteen years hence the Jews will be converted, and that twenty years hence the Millennium will begin, and next week he begins a course of lectures in town to satisfy the world in that particular. Lady Wallingford will probably have a curiosity to see the new buildings at Jerusalem, for that city is to be rebuilt; till that happy scene arrives your Grace may look with satisfaction on the beauties of Bullstrode, but afterwards it will be of no manner of note. If Mr. Achard would travel so far, he would probably see that the mathematics are as yet but in their minority."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1748, September 25. Wellwyn.—"I ask Lady Primrose's pardon and your Grace's, that I did not wait on her sooner and oftener; but it was a pretty while after she was in these parts before I knew of it, and afterwards I was prevented from that honour extremely against my inclination; though I knew not what I had lost by it till after my visit, when she gave me much occasion to think well of her understanding, besides her professing her just and great opinion of your Grace.

"Madam, I accept your very kind invitation, and his Grace's, to Bullstrode with great gratitude and pride, but whether I shall be so happy as to take the advantage of it, as yet I cannot say. Mrs. Haviland is now in town putting her goods on board for the North, but she returns to me next week for some—as yet—uncertain time; I suppose, it depends on the Major's being commanded to his post. All that I, therefore, can at present say is, that whenever health and circumstances admit, I shall be happy in paying my duty to you.

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* Caroline Lee, granddaughter of the first Earl of Lichfield, and Young's stepdaughter.

† William, afterwards General, Haviland.

"I am extremely [glad] to hear so comfortable an account of the matrimonial harmony between Mrs. and Mr. L——d, and indeed the more so, because I had lately heard quite the contrary, and with this particular circumstance, that, though the fact was true, yet Mrs. L——d to all her acquaintance declared the contrary. Which I accounted for in my own mind from that uncommon sweetness of temper, and prudence, of which I think her mistress. And though much urged, as the persons knew me to be no stranger to Mrs. L——d, all I said, or could say, was, that, if the report was true, I thought myself confident that Mrs. L——d was not the occasion of it, or, if she is, no appearances in your sex are ever to be trusted.

"Your Grace mentions not a word of my Lady Oxford, though I writ in hopes of paying my duty to her on her journey; which puts me in mind of your Grace's going by my door last year yourself as if it had been a stranger's. Madam, unextinguished ambition will put such things in one's head, though I, who am so often receiving fresh honours from your Grace, have, I confess, the less reason to complain.

"If, Madam, Mrs. L——d is still with you, I beg my best compliments, and let her know that her friend Mr. Richardson left me but on Saturday last, and that she may expect to see before Christmas part of her own amiable picture in the remaining part of Clarissa.

"I know your Grace has no great esteem of this author; therefore in a letter to you I shall suppress my admiration of him, and will only, instead of panegyrist, turn prophet, and let your Grace know that your great grandchildren will read, and not without tears, the sheets which are now in the press. They will pay their grandmamma's debt to this poor injured man; and injured in a point which would touch him most nearly, if he knew your Grace, and knew your opinion of him."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1748, November 22. Charles Street, Westminster.—"I am greatly obliged to your Grace for your enquiry after my health. It is, I bless God, much better, but my yesterday's journey to this place has much fatigued me. I am very sorry for Mr. Hay, but hope a Lisbon sun may do much, when there are no physicians to hinder its operation; though I think there is something both in Mr. Hay's manners and appearance that looks as if he was more fit to make an angel than a man; as the world goes.

"This moment I received a letter out of Scotland, and find by it that Mrs. Haviland will soon have it in her power—and I dare-say in her inclination—to wait on Lady Bell Monk in Ireland. Thus are we tossed about on the face of the earth till we are gathered to our fathers.

"I rejoice that all is so well at Bullstrode, the health of those we esteem is our best cordial under the want of our own.

"A friend of your Grace's not long since deceased in Hertfordshire has, I hear, many claimants to what he left behind him, but

I hope no one will claim his bad example of dying intestate, which occasions all this trouble. I hear his curiosities will come into the hands of your friend Mr. West.*

"Now I am in town I shall talk with Mr. Richardson on the point mentioned in your Grace's last letter but one; and if I find him guilty either of impertinence or illnature, I shall have a less opinion of mankind than I had before; for I own I conceived him to be as incapable of either as any man on earth. But we are all very frail, and he that answers for another in almost any thing only shows that his knowledge of human nature is not equal to his zeal for his friend."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1748, January 29. Wellwyn.—"I rejoice that Mrs. Lambert has made her spouse so agreeable a present, such presents are great peacemakers, where peace is wanted, and pour fresh oil into the lamp of love, where it burns the brightest. I heartily hope my friend R———n was a false prophet; prophets of old had two provinces, one was to foretell, the other was to instruct. Though he may have failed in the first, yet he has not in the last. Has your Grace read his Clarissa? What a beautiful brat of the brain is there! I wish your Grace would stand godmother, and give it its name, *Clarissa the Divine*. That romance will probably do more good than a body of Divinity. If all printers could turn such authors, I would turn printer in order to be instrumental in promoting such benefit to mankind.

"And yet, Madam, this excellent offspring of the imagination was in danger of having been stifled in its birth; or, at least, of having been made a changeling. I think your Grace knows Mr. Littleton; he, Mr. Fielding, Cibber, &c., all of them pressed the author very importunately to make his story end happily; but does not your Grace think that it is infinitely better as it is? It does end happily, most happily, for Clarissa in the sense of all who do not terminate their notions of happiness at the grave. The reader that has most faith and virtue will be most pleased with this composition. I look on it therefore as a sort of touchstone for the readers of this virtuous age, who, while they think they are only passing their judgment on another's ingenuity, will make a discovery of their own hearts.

"Your Grace is so good as to desire to see me in town. When in town I shall have the honour of waiting on you, but I have no thoughts of being there soon, though some of my neighbours seem to have an irresistible call to the Green Park. The cold weather, I suppose, makes them fond of fire. Instead of squibs and crackers, I shall humbly content myself with sun, moon, and stars, those glorious fireworks of that great King who in the noblest sense is the *author of peace*, and *lover of concord*.

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* Doubtless the antiquary James West, at this date M.P. for St. Albans. *Cf.* p. 316 *infra*.

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1748, December 18. Wellwyn.—"Not being at home when your Grace's letter came, this cannot come to you till Thursday; and on Thursday sennight, that is St. Thomas's day, I am obliged to be at home again, if I have the honour of waiting on you; and that time is so short, that I had rather choose some other opportunity.

"When I was in town I talked with the author of Clarissa; he and your Grace I find from the beginning were of different sentiments, though I daresay of equal good intention; you for, he against, the match; he against it, from the great inequality of age; your Grace for it, from—I suppose—such an opinion of the young lady's temper and prudence as rendered that objection of no weight. You prophesied good, and he, ill; and now you are both for verifying your several prophecies; which is all that I can make, on my best enquiry, of this matter.

"Mr. L——— being often in the Tunbridge season at the Wells, and she, never, though much enquired after, gave, I find, some ground for suspicion, but whether a just ground or not, they themselves alone can tell.

"I have got Mr. Monk to write to Ireland to procure Mrs. Haviland, who will soon be there, the honour of Lady Bell's countenance at her arrival in a strange land.

"May this, Madam, find your Grace happy, happy in yourself, and in all you hold dear; this I ardently wish, because, whenever I have the satisfaction of hearing good news from Bullstrode, I shall be truly capable of enjoying it, though I am not on the place."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1749, May 7. Wellwyn.—"About three months ago I had the honour of a letter from your friend Mrs. Delany. As its contents were of the greatest importance, I immediately wrote an answer, and that duty done, took the liberty to close my letter with an humble request for a favour at her hands with regard to poor Mrs. Haviland now in the barracks at Drogheda, and in the ensuing winter proposing to be at Dublin, where I thought I could not do better for her, either with regard to her happiness or reputation, than to recommend her to the countenance of Mrs. Delany. But I have had no letter from Mrs. Delany since, which, considering Mrs. Delany's goodness and complaisance, makes me suspect that my letter never came to her hand. I remember at that time I doubted if my direction was right; and therefore I humbly beg the favour of your Grace to let me know how I am to direct to her, though I should have thought that a letter directed to Mrs. Delany in Ireland could not have miscarried. She shines not only with her own light, but with that of her spouse, and how with such a lustre to lead it, could a letter lose its way?"

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1749, August 3. Wellwyn.—"You desire me to tell you how your heart shall get clear of forming ineffectual wishes; it is, I

grant, a sad distemper; yet, though your Grace does me the honour of making me your physician in ordinary, yet can I not in conscience wish you quite free from this disease, because I verily think there is no such thing as a perfect cure of it but death. However, there are some palliatives that may soften the pain it is apt to give us.

"First, Madam, I can adminster to your Grace a malicious kind of consolation from the great number of your fellow sufferers, for no disease is so epidemic; but this is, I know, a medicine that that will go against your stomach.

"I had rather, therefore, observe that frequent blows of disappointment deaden the sensibility of the heart, and thus this distemper, at long run, like the scorpion, cures the wound it gives.

"But the chief recipe I would prescribe may be called the balance; I mean, Madam, that your Grace should not permit a a disappointed wish to give you more pain than a successful one gives you joy; and then I am persuaded you would find the violence of your distemper, in a great measure, abated. But to play the mountebank no longer, I descend from my stage into a perfect patient myself; and must own that I am as much, if not more distempered, in spite of all my quackery, than your Grace. For I severely feel the disappointment of my sincere desire of seeing Bullstrode, which pleasure is denied me by friends that are to be with me for the summer. I humbly beg that my not waiting on your Grace may not be misunderstood; for I am ashamed of having been honoured with so many kind invitations, and should be still more ashamed of not enjoying the advantage of them, if the occasion of it was not most real and unavoidable."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1749, September 17. Wellwyn.—"It grieves me that I cannot wait on you at St. Albans, as I designed, but am necessarily prevented. Your Grace will perceive by the enclosed that I must have had great inclination to talk with you. My friend Mr. Richardson, your Grace will perceive, is very uneasy; and, I am confident is very honest; if therefore on the perusal you can furnish me, at your Grace's leisure, with anything of consolation to him I shall rejoice.

"I am, Madam, extremely sensible of the many and undeserved honours I receive at your hands. What would I not give to wait on you and my Lord Duke at Wellwyn! I wish your Grace would change the conditions for any other on earth; for such is my state of health, that so late in the year I dare not be from home.

"Madam, the bar to my design and promise of waiting on your Grace at St. Albans was a coachful of ladies, who came to dine with me.

"The latter part of the enclosed is the only part that desires the favour of your perusal, and such answer to it as your Grace's benevolence shall think proper, for I know poor Richardson's great delicacy is quite in pain about it."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1749, October 5. Wellwyn.—"Accept my most cordial thanks for the honour your Grace and my Lord Duke so lately did me at this place; had you continued but four hours longer, you would have seen the ladies you talked of the night before, Mrs. Montague and my Lady Sandwich. They dined at the Inn, and drank tea with me; and I breakfasted with them the next day, after which they went to town, both their husbands, as I understand, being there. As far as I can look into her at present I like Lady Sandwich very well; her manner is very unlike that of her friend. They came from Hinchingbrook, where Mrs. Montague has spent some time with her ladyship. I asked her if she had any commands to Bullstrode, for that I should write soon; she answered, that she should write herself on Tuesday night; your Grace can tell whether her veracity is inviolable or not.

"I hope your Grace had a pleasant journey, a safe arrival, and the happy welcome of finding all well; my hopes are the more lively on this occasion at present, being awakened by a sad fire which happened in our neighbourhood the night after your Grace left us, which has reduced three poor families to great distress; it was occasioned by a careless disposal of their lime.

"I defer writing to poor Richardson till by your Grace's favour I hear what Mrs. Lambart says to his letter. If he was to blame, it is evident he repents, and it is the interest of us all to wish that much power may be afforded to repentance. But I presume no farther; your Grace knows what is fit and right to be done in the case, and, I am confident, will be for no other measures in it."

Postscript.—"Since I writ the former part of my letter, North, Mr. West's friend, came to make me a visit, and in the course of our conversation—without the least provocation or hint from me—told me that the rise of his friend was owing to some secret he had to communicate to persons in power. I said, I questioned it, on which he told me that he had it from Mr. West's agent at St. Albans, who stood in such nearness to him that his information could not be questioned."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1749, [October]. Wellwyn.—"Your Grace is extremely obliging, and your present very acceptable. I have now another flock besides that of my parishioners, and I fear much the more innocent of the two.

"I received the honour of your Grace's first letter, but it was after mine to [your] Grace was written, or I should have made my acknowledgments for it. Mrs. Hallows knows not how to express her sense of your Grace's so great favour; and Mrs. Ward is not with me. I am sorry to hear that I have seen the best of Lady S——h, and as for her companion I found her out before your Grace did, which occasioned the disregard I showed her at

Tunbridge, of which I know she complained to your Grace. The paragraph you favour me with, Madam, relating to Mrs. Lambart gives me real pleasure, for poor Richardson is a low-spirited man, and not only deserves but wants satisfactions.

"I return, Madam, my particular thanks for the receipts and medicine, and for that especially that encounters a sore throat, my greatest enemy, to which I am most subject; but I shall stand less in dread of it for the future.

"Lady Primrose and a friend of hers were, some time since, about taking a house in Oxfordshire, but the bargain went off, and they could not get it. Sometime after Lady Primrose met her friend, and was regretting that they missed that pretty place. 'No,' says her friend, 'I have taken it.' 'How so?' says Lady Primrose with great joy. 'Why,' says her friend, 'I have married the landlord of it.' Which is very true. It is one Captain Hervey, with whom I am well acquainted.

"'Your Grace asks, on a very proper occasion, 'Is it possible for a man to glory in his villainies?' Yes, Madam, so very possible that some have committed villainies purely to glory in them, but the gentleman in question fixed his prudent choice on something more substantial, and, we may suppose, in pure gaiety of heart from his extraordinary success, let the secret inadvertently drop from him. For that it did come from him in conversation, and that with a person of low rank, I have indisputable conviction."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1749, December 26. Wellwyn.—"My eye is just as it was, I cannot make use of it without uneasiness; but it would be greater uneasiness to me not to thank your Grace in a few words for your most kind enquiry. I rejoice in the welfare of your amiable fireside, and hope the little exception to it in the Archbishop will soon cease. I do not hope, but prophesy that my Lord Titchfield will advance in all things to your own heart's desire. It is natural to Mrs. Delany to leave marks of great ingenuity behind her wherever she goes, and still more natural to leave them there where she knows they will be relished by an exquisite taste, and be acknowledged by a heart in which it is her glory to have so large a share. To her and the Dean, I beg my best compliments, and my humble duty to my Lord Duke."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1750, April 20. Wellwyn.—"I was lately in conversation with a certain gentleman who pressed me much to bring my old tragedy on the stage, and he told me that your Grace had promised to second him in that request. I should be very glad to know at your Grace's leisure if this be true; for I have certain inferences to make from the veracity, or the contrary, of this reporter.

"I beg your Grace to pardon my liberty, and my brevity, for I am still under my late complaint as to my eye. When the sun is highest the shadow is least. I cannot say that the shortness of my letter proceeds from the height of my regard, but I can truly say it is absolutely consistent with it."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1750, October 21. Wellwyn.—"The many and great favours I have received at your hands make it my duty to comply with your requests; your high rank makes it my ambition, and your Grace's amiable accomplishment makes it my pleasure, and the honour you did Wellwyn last year makes it an absolute debt in me to wait on you. Now it may seem somewhat odd that a man cannot comply with his duty and his own earnest desires.

"But indeed, Madam, the case really stands thus. Soon after I had the honour of your Grace's last letter I was obliged to go to Winchester, where I had a son at the then election standing for a fellowship of a college in Oxford; applications to the electors, &c., detained me there till the latter end of September; then business carried me into Surrey, where I continued some time, determining on my return to Wellwyn to set out for Bullstrode; but on coming home I found a letter from the Speaker proposing to meet his son from Cambridge at my house: this I knew not how well to decline, and hoping their meeting would be soon, I still proposed waiting on your Grace afterward. But the Speaker put it off from time to time, and now at last he has let me know that he will be with me to-morrow, and probably he may stay till the end of the week. This pushes me too far into the winter to venture a journey, for the least cold flings me into pains of which my Lord Duke may have some idea, but your Grace can have none at all."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1750, November 4. Wellwyn.—"Notwithstanding my truant behaviour this summer, I am not altogether absent from Bullstrode; I am as much there as a person at this distance can possibly be. I run over most of your alterations in my fancy, and am exceedingly pleased with them; nor am I at all surprised at it, considering whose taste and genius presides over that scene so very capable of shining; and I am persuaded that your Grace can change most things for the better but yourself. This, Madam, I think is courtly, and on the credit of it, I beg leave to step into your flower-garden, of which you are so fond. Why, truly, it is a most gorgeous apartment of your paradise. What shapes! what colours! what combinations of them! what varieties! what inimitable patterns for human art to copy after! Even a duchess's fingers are far distanced by them. Poor Solomon! what a beggarly appearance dost thou make in all thy glory compared with these! But I am apt to believe, Madam, that if Solomon was with us, and sufficiently disengaged from

the infatuations of his seraglio, he would be likely to say something to this purpose:—'If these things so delight us, if the glories of the vegetable world so much claim our admiration, how much more so, the glories, the flowers of the moral world; where there are so many deformed and poisonous weeds to set off, as so many foils, their amiability! where there are ten thousand Mackleans* to one Duke of Portland!'

"These are flowers indeed worth rearing, flowers that engage the care, and cultivation, and superintendence, and affection of superior beings, fill their invisible paths amongst us with fragrancy, and ever shine in their sight. Pardon the boldness if I say that the Archangels Michael and Gabriel &c. are florist with regard to these; they gaze on them, and protect them for a season, and then to make their fate as happy as their beauties are bright, they will gather them one day in glorious clusters and present them to the Supreme. To whose great protection I, who am but grass, most cordially recommend your Grace and the little flowers of your family."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1751, July 26. Wellwyn.—"A lady of my acquaintance, who has a good hand at match-making, and who has lately brought together the proprietor of Pensilvania and a daughter of the Lord Pomfret, is now with them at my Lord's seat in Northamptonshire, and is to spend some days with [me] at her return; I expect, the latter end of this week; which unavoidable accident denies me that honour and pleasure which your Grace so very obligingly offers me. But I most humbly request that, at going into the north, or at your return, or both, you would refresh my spirit by resting yourself under my roof.

"I rejoice in the restoration of your Grace's health, and I hope I may congratulate my most worthy Lord Duke on the same account. There has been nothing but death about me. Mr. West called on me not long ago, and gave me the pleasure of hearing you was well, and of carrying or forgetting to carry my respects to your Grace, with whom he was to dine that week. He came into these parts in order to purchase for his sister a considerable estate of one Lady Cotton. Our neighbour, Lady Caroline Cowper, is gone to Bristol for her health.

"Your Grace perceives, I pump hard for news; and therefore I will give it over, and content myself with assuring you that words cannot express the satisfaction it will give me to wait on your Grace at Wellwyn."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1751, September 3. Wellwyn.—"Your commands are sacred, and therefore I write, but my eye incommodes me, and therefore I write shorter than I ought. But I will make some amends for

* The gentleman highwayman James Maclaine or Maclean had recently been executed at Tyburn.

the brevity of my letter by the importance of it, for I shall speak of your Grace's friends. Mrs. Donellan is setting out for Ireland to take possession of wealth on her mother's death. Mrs. Delany in a letter, and that a very ingenious one, to a friend of mine, says, among other things, that there is but one Duchess of Portland, in which she speaks the sense of the nation, and give me leave to add, that I believe there is but one Lady Oxford, to whom, and my Lord Duke, I beg my humble duty."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1751, September 29. Wellwyn.—"In order to give the reason for not waiting on your Grace according to your and my Lord Duke's very kind desire, I find myself obliged to let you into a secret, which I desire you not to communicate. I am, Madam, printing a piece of prose, and am obliged to correct the press myself, which forces me to be in town till that affair is over; and if I can so hasten it as to have it done in time, the piece and its author shall wait on you together; if not, I shall send your Grace the piece as soon as finished. I shall send it to no one else, not putting my name to it, and for some reasons desiring the writer may be concealed; which reasons your Grace may possibly guess at, if you do the thing the honour of a perusal. As for the performance, let that be as it will, I am sure the subject is such as will meet with your approbation. To show you that my good wishes—as in duty bound—run very, very high for you and yours, I wish you all more happiness than you deserve."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1752, August 6. Wellwyn.—"I this day received the drops, and with them a demonstration of your great *kindness* to me; as for your Grace's *want of capacity* mentioned in your last, I am not in the least concerned about it, for I bless God I have more than I want, which is more than most princes can say.

"Madam, I should never more have mentioned to you anything about preferment; but, since your Grace glances at it in your last, pardon me, if out of pure curiosity I ask what your crony, the Archbishop of Canterbury, meant by a letter to me two or three years ago, in which he says, that 'he would say nothing to me, but that he had acquainted my friend the Duchess of Portland with what concerned my interest.' I suppose His Grace meant to say something that was agreeable, unconcerned for anything more, for I have neither heard from nor writ to him since.

"Your Grace, if you please, may at your leisure unriddle this; if not, I am quite contented to continue still in the dark."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1753, December 16. Wellwyn.—"I received with joy your kind remembrance of me, but far otherwise at the same time your Grace's black catalogue of calamities. You say Mrs. Donellan has been in danger; we see therefore that a good understanding is no security. You say Mrs. Montague is in danger; therefore

it is certain that wit can make nothing more than a poor name immortal. You say, Madam, that Mrs. Delany is better; therefore she, to my sorrow, has been ill; long may she live, not only to give a lustre to your Grace's grotto, but an ornament to your sex.

"When such as these suffer, what impudence is it in me to complain! Though you, Madam, have had more than your share, yet have you not engrossed all colds to yourself. I have been much out of order; but am, I bless God, much better, and rear my head once more to see most of my old acquaintance and friends drop before me. My Lord Thanet was with me not long ago, and now I am at a loss how to return his visit."

Postscript.—"Mrs. Delany's *humiliation*, which your Grace speaks of, and your own *presumption*, is to me mysterious and unfathomable; uncommon excellence is a sure charm against humiliation, and the presumption of conferring favours is a new figure of speech which few, uninspired by Bullstrode's clear air, would be able to decipher. But I suppose you two ladies, influenced by this season of town entertainments, are pleased to put your merry meaning in masquerade, to make a country parson stare, and your own polite circle smile. Nor can I take it ill; jokes at Christmas want no excuse. However since I have detected you, I believe you ladies will be more sparing of your raillery in your next; but since raillery is a symptom of health, may it continue, may it increase; for, I assure you, on that consideration, the more you two invalids are pleased to laugh at your humble servant, the more abundantly will he rejoice."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1754, June 25. Wellwyn.—"Through a long absence from home, I have but just now received the honour of your last letter. I heartily rejoice with you on my Lady Oxford's good state of health, and am sorry to hear that your Grace has had reason to complain. You cure everybody but yourself. I thank your Grace I have found great benefit from your medicine. I should have been very glad to have waited on you at St. Albans, had the fates permitted. I received a present of his late published sermons from Dr. Delany, and as bound in gratitude, as well as charity, much rejoice in the turn his law-affair has taken in his favour.

"I am glad, Madam, that my friend Mr. Richardson has had the happiness to recover your Grace's good opinion. I am confident he deserves it. As for the fountain from which the mischief sprang, I am sure it is a foul one, and therefore desire not to be better acquainted with it."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1755, September 7. Wellwyn.—"I have public duty always three days in the week, and often much more; and at present I have no curate, nor can I get any. It is therefore utterly out of

my power to accept your Grace's kind and most obliging invitation, which otherwise I should have accepted with the utmost satisfaction, and shall ever remember with the greatest gratitude.

"I congratulate you, Madam, and the public on Lord Titchfield's recovery; the public is your rival, nor will you be sorry for such a rival in your love.

"With what a relish you speak of your most amiable friend! Your Grace has an excellent pencil, I never saw a more lovely family-piece, except at Bullstrode.

"They, Madam, that are happy in their friends and near relations enjoy more than any other circumstances of life can give; and that this for ever may be your case is the prayer of one who has missed friends where they were most to be expected, and found them, thanks to your Grace, where they were least deserved, by no means an uncommon case."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1756, January 20. Wellwyn.—"Your last letter is an emblem of the world, full of misfortunes and death. What reason have they to bless Heaven who escape so many chances against them! Yet how few are there who can find out in the calamities of others God Almighty's admonition to themselves! My Lord Bolingbroke's letter is written in a masterly manner. What pity it is that fine talents and integrity should ever be parted! While together they make an angel, and their separation gives us the precise and complete character of Lucifer. And yet from the beginning of the world thus has it been, more or less. It is very observable that all curious arts were found out by the descendants of Cain, who, by the way, fled his native country, and had a mark of infamy fixed upon him. I rejoice at Mr. Murray's recovery, and when I have a sore throat your Grace shall certainly be my physician. I knew not that Mrs. Bellenden was dead. Does your Grace converse with my Lady Cowper? She is come into my neighbourhood, and claims old acquaintance with me. I think there is something agreeable in her manner, for as yet I know her no farther.

"I have no thoughts at present of seeing the town soon; but I shall see it the sooner because your Grace is in it. I wish there were a few more such scattered up and down in it, to sweeten its corrupted mass, and reprieve it for another century. I hope that Wellwyn will this summer lie in the way of your Grace's travels; if so, I will show you what a fine colony of sheep your Grace has transplanted from your own Arcadia into a foreign land. I wish I could prevail with my flock to imitate their innocence; but they, like their betters, make innocence their prey, for they have stolen two of my lambs."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1756, July 29. Wellwyn.—"Heaven re-establish your health and restore your spirits, without either of which the living have

little to boast above the dead. Last week Lady Cowper gave me an account of Mrs. Delany, but mentioned not her indisposition, of which, I suppose, she was ignorant, for she professes a great value for her. For the sake of all that know her, as well as her own, I heartily hope her perfect recovery.

"But to come still nearer to your Grace's heart, I congratulate you on Lady Harriet's health, nor less on Lord Titchfield's late-gained reputation. May he one day be the pride of the nation, as he is now of the University, and then the public will thank your Grace for giving it an ornament which posterity shall not forget.

"Poor Lord Andover! but as I know not his character, I cannot tell if his death is to be deplored, or envied. Nothing is more to be envied than the death of the good. Last night I buried a most valuable woman, and her as profligate husband, now on his deathbed, I shall bury very soon. He was her death by his unkindness, and his own by his debauchery. The difference of their last hours, to which I have been privy, carries in it an instruction which no words can express.

"Your Grace is so kind as to enquire after my health: I have had a very dangerous fever, which was not easily subdued, but God Almighty is pleased to continue me here longer at my peril. I say, Madam, at my peril, as, if we do not truly repent, longer life will prove in the event a curse, and if we do, death, which we so much dread, is the greatest blessing."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1758, July 9. Wellwyn.—"I am very sorry that, when you did me the honour of calling at Mr. Richardson's, I was not there, but much more sorry for your Grace's indisposition. God in His mercy remove it for the sake of many, and particularly of two such sons, for whose welfare the public concern will rival your own.

"Was I not at present confined for want of an assistant I should rejoice to add to the number of your *animals* or rather of your *plants*, for at present I have no locomotive faculty.

"I hope with your Grace that my Lord Anson's news may be good. And now pardon me, Madam, if I presume to enquire after some news from your Grace.

"I have lately by a *dedication* taken on me to put his Majesty in mind of my long service, but, I take for granted, without any manner of effect. I perceive by your Grace that all hopes are over; but though hopes are over, my curiosity is not; that is rather increased. For as I was chaplain to his Majesty, even at Leicester House, and as all other chaplains there were soon preferred after his Majesty's accession but myself, and as many, many years ago the Duke of Newcastle promised me—through the Duke of Portland's kindly presenting me to him—preferment after two then to be provided for by him before me, and as there is no instance to be found of any other so long in service under total neglect, there must be some particular reason for my

very particular fate, which reason, as I cannot possibly guess at it, I most ardently long to know.

"Your Grace's interest with persons in power is at least so great as to be able to gratify my very natural and very strong curiosity a little in this point."

Postscript.—"This may seem to your Grace an extraordinary request; but please, Madam, to consider, here has a thing happened which never happened before, and which very probably will never happen again. How natural then for any, especially for him who is most concerned in it, to wish, if possible, to know the cause of it, for I am not conscious of the least cause I have given for it."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1758, September 7. Wellwyn.—"Your Grace is extremely kind in the noble offer you are pleased to make me; whether it is tenable with Wellwyn or not, I cannot tell; but be it so, or not, your Grace's goodness lays me under an eternal obligation. If it should not be tenable with Wellwyn, will your Grace pardon me if [I] ask a bold question? Can your great indulgence go so far as to give it to my son? As that would greatly increase my great obligation, that would much more than double the favour of giving it to myself.

"My son, Madam, is a student at Balliol College in Oxford; he is between twenty-five and twenty-six years of age; I left the choice of his way of life to himself; he chose Divinity; his tutor writes me word that he makes a laudable progress in it, and he will take orders very soon.

"I thought it my duty to let your Grace know something of the person in whose behalf I presume to ask so very great a favour."

Postscript.—"If, Madam, I can obtain that request I now presume to make, I shall look upon all former disappointments as advantages, when ending in what I so very much desire."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1759, April 14. Wellwyn.—"I return many thanks for the joy you have given me by the most agreeable contents of your kind letter. I can easily conceive your Grace's great solicitude, during the dependence of a point of so very great moment to your own happiness, and the happiness of one so justly dear to you; but that solicitude is greatly—thanks to Heaven—overbalanced by your present satisfaction in having well accomplished the most material transaction in human life.

"Your Grace's relations are now increased, and since they may now increase yearly, may every increase make a new article in the list of your enjoyments, till you arrive at those enjoyments which will admit of no increase or end. I beg Lady Weymouth to accept my most sincere congratulation, and my hearty prayer for her as great happiness as that most happy state of life can confer on those who deserve it most, in the little number of whom, I believe, her ladyship justly claims a place.

"May your Grace always—as now—hear *from*, and *of*, Lord Titchfield to your perfect satisfaction, and may the next news I hear of my Lord Duke be more to my satisfaction than that which you can afford me now. Virtue is no security against the accidents of human life, but it is a great security to our patience under them."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1759, October 28. Wellwyn.—"From my heart I rejoice at the delightful scene of your Grace's family-happiness in all the noble and lovely branches of it; for that is a happiness of all other under Heaven the most valuable, except that which is in the still narrower space of our own bosoms.

"May the pleasure, and satisfaction, which you found at Longleat be but the beginning of those joys that shall arise from prudent and fortunate disposal of those you love in the marriage-state, in which we throw the die for the highest stake in human life.

"To make that hazardous die turn up aright, nothing bids fairer than that similitude of tempers which you have discovered in my Lord and Lady Weymouth. It not only gives present happiness, but its promises of future are very great, because it is a private bisque in our sleeve which the caprices of outward fortune can never rob us of.

"As far as I can judge of Lady Harriet's temper—I think I have observed it—it seems to me to be such that it will be a difficulty on your Grace to find its fellow in our sex. May she find it, or —what will be more to her honour and pleasure—make it, in the man she honours with her hand.

"As for my Lord Titchfield, may you ever, Madam, receive accounts of him, and news from him, as agreeable as was your last, that your heart, which, you say, is with him, and which, I say, is then in good and sweet company, may for ever rejoice in him, and in the prospect of his conveying his mother's and father's virtues into future times, to bless those who, by his laudable conduct, will probably be put in mind of days past, and recollect to whom they owe such a son, and so be the less surprised, though not less pleased, with what they love or admire in him."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1760, November 20. Wellwyn.—"More than once I have heard the famous Mr. Addison say that it was much his wish—if it so pleased God—to die in the summer, because then, walking abroad, he frequently contemplated the works of God, which gave such a serious turn and awful composure to the mind as best qualified it to enter the Divine presence.

"Summer scatters us abroad into the fields to gather wisdom there, if we please; the storms of winter drive us back to shelter, and contemplation gives place to company. Happy they that

enjoy such as those which your Grace says are now with you! Music is a delicious entertainment, and the only one that I know of, which earth enjoys in common with heaven. Long may you enjoy those pleasures here which bid fairest to end in such as will never cease; *lovers of reading and work* are most likely to make those their choice."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1761, January 20. Wellwyn.—"I have taken some hours to consider of the very kind offer your Grace is so good to make me. I am old, and, I bless God, far from want; but as the honour is great and the duty small, and such as need not take much from my parish, and especially as your Grace seems desirous I should accept it, I do accept it with great gratitude for your remembrance of one who might easily and naturally be forgotten.

"The honour, indeed, is great, and in my sight greater still, as I succeed to so great and good a man. Would to God I could tread in all his other steps as well as this!"

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1762, May 27. Wellwyn.—"Of all the severe dispensations, with which a good God is pleased wean our affections from those objects which can never satisfy them, the most severe is the loss of those we love; and if by His grace and our own prudence we can support our spirits under that, we may congratulate ourselves on a magnanimity that is able to stand the greatest shock of this short scene, into which we were brought with no other intent than by our gratitude for its comforts and acquiescence in its discipline to make ourselves fit candidates for that glorious scene where tears shall be wiped from every eye.

"Madam, may that Friend who will never leave or forsake us continue to speak peace to your soul, by inspiring it with true discernment of those blessings which are wrapped up in the melancholy veil of our present afflictions, and with the most lively hope of those joys which are free from all those unpleasant, but wholesome ingredients, which ever embitter the highest happiness of human life."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1762, June 1. Wellwyn.—"I read your letter with uncommon pleasure; no sight is more delightful, or more beneficial, than that of a rightly-disposed mind. If Britain could show us more of them it would be an happier world than that in which we now live. The whole secret of being happy ourselves, and making those so that are near us, is to preserve a true relish of life, unabated by any anxious fear of death. Providence has provided for your Grace what may make life most palatable: may it long continue to you, Madam! *Such* children, and to them *such* dispositions! It is not only a great but a very rare blessing; and

your Grace can scarce look anywhere out of your own family without seeing great cause for rejoicing in it; and all blessings are doubled by the peculiarity of them.

"May, Madam, Bullstrode air second your prudence to the perfect re-establishment of your health; as for my own, which, with that of multitudes more, has suffered much through the whole of the late unwholesome season, it is but indifferent. I have not, I bless God, much pain, but much languor; if it was less, I would certainly pay my humble duty to your Grace; if it should be much more, with due submission to the Divine will I must pay my duty to Heaven."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1762, August 24. Wellwyn.—"I congratulate you on prudence and spirit to go abroad, in quest of rational amusement and its sweet companion, health, which may you ever find. I am sadly confined, by my sight greatly impaired, and other complaints, which I am unwilling to trouble your Grace withal. My case is this; I have been troubled near thirty years with rheumatic pains; they have been now long entirely ceased, and my physician tells me that Nature throws all that mischief on my eyes and head, which has undergone, and is still undergoing, great discipline, and to very little purpose. This is bad, but what greatly aggravates it is that it denies me the power, which from my soul I ardently desire, of paying that duty which I shall ever owe to your Grace. But notwithstanding all I have said, and all I feel, notwithstanding dark days and sleepless nights, such is my age that I must not complain. Heaven's blessed will be done, and may it not deny me the comfort of seeing those in felicity whose welfare I am bound in gratitude to have most at heart."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1763, June 2. Wellwyn.—"In yesterday's newspaper I read an article with infinite satisfaction; I beg leave to give your Grace joy on that happy occasion. May you, Madam, and Lady Harriet, I should say, Grey—to whom my humble duty—find your fullest satisfaction in it. Parents deserve our congratulation on nothing so much as on their final and happy disposal of those whom they love, and who deserve their love, so well as Lady Grey. The accomplishment of this important point takes a great load from the tender maternal heart, and promises serene days to the remainder of life.

"I hope your Grace is entirely free from the painful indisposition of which you complained in your last; that letter I answered long since, with my fullest acknowledgments to my Lord Bute for his unmerited indulgence to me. But that indulgence I am conscious must be owing to your Grace's favour, to whom, therefore, on that occasion my principal and most sincere acknowledgments and thanks are due.

"Once more I give your Grace joy of so happy a conclusion in an affair which must have had a just title to your most tender concern; and that it may yearly present you with new occasions of joy, till your joy receives its full completion where there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage, is the prayer of your most dutiful servant."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1764, March 13. Wellwyn.—"If gratitude is any virtue, I have great reason to be truly concerned upon your Grace's indisposition; may a good Providence soon remove it, and restore you to perfect health and a true relish of it, which nothing can give us so effectually as a little taste of the contrary. Please to accept my humble thanks for the great honour you design me; I have long wished for it, for few pleasures are equal to seeing the face of those whom we know to wish us well. The dancing duchess would scarce have so much pleasure in a well performed minuet; or the busy duke in his political country-dance from the angry cabals of town to the learned banks of Cam. How vain the business or amusements of life to those great things which infirmities or age will naturally, if not necessarily, bring to our thoughts! I bless God I am pretty well, and for me to hope for more would be folly; for miracles are ceased.

"Not being able through the weakness of my sight to wait on Lord Bute, a pretty while ago I wrote to him, and received a most obliging letter in answer, for which I thank him and your Grace; but I do not thank him for raising the price of our provisions by his great hospitality. We are all very welcome if we please to indulge at his plentiful table, but a chicken will cost us very dear if we eat it at our own. He nobly entertains the rich, and charitably relieves the poor, and reads, I hope with Christian patience, in the papers the great thanks which the public returns for those virtues.

"I give your Grace joy of being no politician, for whoever turns his head that way at this time might as good put it in the pillory, for he will be sure to have dirt thrown at him by some hand or another, though they stoop for it into the kennel of nonsense and ill will; yet some ears are so nailed to politics that they are deaf to every thing else.

"Madam, your Grace has many that share your good wishes; I hope they are all well? And may they all contribute to your happiness, till your happiness, which must necessarily have its root in earth, shall arrive in its full bloom above."

Postscript.—"Your Grace says that you shall never forget that you are on the verge of fifty; if you should live two fifties more, after all your experience, this would be your last thought: what very, very trifles all the world so passionately pursues! how great the prize it so carelessly neglects! how inconceivable must that bliss be which cost the blood of God! These things force themselves on the thoughts of age, but how much happier are they in the day of enjoyment and strength of life, when

the very thought is virtue, since we must then fight our way through temptations to the contrary to come at it! How very different the value of these thoughts in the fine walks of Bullstrode, and in the melancholy chamber of languor or pain! These politics are a noble science, and too little studied by country and court; few Secretaries of State are made by them. Your Grace will pardon me for repeating to you your own words."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1764, August 7. Wellwyn.—"I greatly rejoice that you have recovered what is most valuable in life, health and spirits, and that you have recovered them by the most pleasant as well as the most effectual means; that is, by driving away from your physician as fast and as far as you can; which is the most likely way of leaving your disorder too behind you. As for my own health, which your Grace is so good as to ask after, I bless Heaven that I suffer no severe pains, but I have little appetite by day, and very indifferent rest by night, and my eyes grow worse and worse; but Almighty God's most blessed will be done.

"I have not for a long time either seen Mrs. Montague or heard from her; but I have heard often of her. Dr. Monsey called on me a little while ago, and told me he was to wait on her, but could not be admitted, because my Lord Bath was dead; and this last week, one Mr. Keate, of the Temple, an author both in prose and verse, favoured me with a visit for two or three days, and told me that some little time ago he had the honour of dining with Mrs. Montague with about ten more, all or most of them writers; that the entertainment was very elegant, and that a celebrated Welsh harp added music to their wit.

"They are wise who make this life as happy as they can, since at the very happiest it will fall short of their desires, which, blessed be God, are too large to be quite pleased with any thing below; and whilst by their largeness they give us some little disgust to this life, they make rich amends for that disadvantage by giving us at the same time as strong assurance of a better."

E. Young to the Duchess of Portland.

1765, February 19. Wellwyn.—"It is so long since I had the honour of writing to you that you may possibly look on this as a letter from the dead, but I am still above ground, though I can hardly venture to say that I am quite alive; the severe weather on Sunday night almost destroyed me. My being so long silent was not occasioned by disrespect, for I bear to your Grace the greatest [respect]; nor was it occasioned by want of power, for, I bless God, I am pretty well; nor was it occasioned by want of inclination, for I desire nothing more than to hear of your Grace's welfare. Whatever, therefore, was the cause of it, I beg your Grace to permit me now to enquire after your health and the health of all those who have the happiness of being

related to or of being esteemed by you. In the last letter which I had the honour of receiving from your Grace, you was about to make a round of visits to several entitled to one or to both of the characters above. I hope you found and left them well, and brought home at your return an increase of health and satisfaction. Air and exercise are not greater friends to the former than the cheerful smiles of those we love are to the latter; and when is it more necessary to provide for our private satisfaction and peace than at a time when that of the Public seems to be in some hazard of being impaired, if not lost? But what have I to do with the public affairs of this world? They are almost as foreign to me as to those who were born before the Flood. My world is dead; to the present world I am quite a stranger, so very much a stranger that I know but one person in it, and that is your Grace."

Elizabeth Montagu * to the Duchess of Portland.

[1749 ?] November 7. Sandleford.—"May not I from my cell address myself to the Duchess of Portland in her drawing-room? I hear that your Grace came to town for the birthday, but I suppose according to the usual perverseness of my destiny you will return to Bullstrode before I come to town. But may I not say I regret my solitude here has not been enlivened by one line from you? I have been here a month enjoying in tranquillity the health I gained at Tunbridge; the shortness of the days allows very little commerce with our neighbours; which I do not regret, for my social virtues had not only been exercised but fatigued. In a long Tunbridge season, I had such a surfeit of company I was afraid I should have grown a misanthrope. Having long subsisted on the news and chat of the day, no very delicious nor very nourishing fare, I am now amusing myself with the characters of the ancient world. Record has only preserved their great actions, and time has obscured the little motives that perhaps gave birth to them; for Fate's innavigable tide, as Mr. Prior calls it, is different from other streams, where the light things are borne up, and weighty ones sink; the stream of time bears up only those of weight, the rest fall soon to the bottom. Characters therefore delivered to us in this manner, and seen from such a distance, have their little imperfections rendered invisible, and appear with a dignity and create a respect one is not apt to have for objects with which one is more intimately acquainted. I have just laid a book out of my hands which has given me so much pleasure I believe I shall take the liberty to recommend it to you. It is entitled 'Choses Mémorables de Socrate par Charpentier.' The character of Socrates has been treated always as almost divine; this book gives a picture of the man by the repeating many of

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* The Mrs. Montagu of literary and social celebrity.

his dialogues and maxims which were collected by Xenophon his disciple, and are from him translated by Charpentier; your Grace knows that Socrates, pronounced by the oracle to be the wisest man of his age, presumed so little on this as to affirm the character was given him only because he was most sensible that he knew nothing; this humility is a fine foundation of a great character, and I think it gives one the highest pleasure to see one character whose fame was raised by modesty and not ambition. His precepts are all such as are useful in common life. He despised all the subtleties of science, every knowledge that did not tend to make a man better and more serviceable to his friends and country. The solidity of his merit stood him in great stead, when disgrace, imprisonment and death came upon him; ostentatious and vain-glorious additions forsake people in such severe instances, but he had a virtue proof against all trials, and that could not be shaken by outward accidents. If your Grace reads this book upon my recommendation you will meet with some gross reprehensions of particular vices at the beginning of it, which you must excuse from the want of delicacy in those times; but I mentioned it that you might not lay the book in the way of the young ladies, for there are really some things said against vice that are hardly agreeable to virtue, and not therefore so proper for young people, whose best guard is the absolute purity of the heart; and as I did not know but the book might come within their reach before your Grace had met with anything exceptionable, I thought it best to speak of it. I cannot help laughing that the subject of my letter should be the character of Socrates, but I know that even in London your Grace spends some time in reading in your dressing-room, and I thought this would please you. If it entertains you, I shall be glad I mentioned it. The orange trees your Grace was so good as to give me are the ornaments of Sandleford; they flourish in all the luxuriance of health, and only want to present a nosegay to your hands; when may I hope they shall have that honour? I have not seen our friend Kit Lansdell; I hear he is disconsolate for the loss of the widow; I wonder he managed the affair so ill, for Hudibras says:—

'There is no lover has that power
T'inforce a desperate amour,
As he who has two strings to his bow,
And burns for love and money too.'

But the conqueror, Mr. Gore, has carried her to Bath; by marrying so many men she has acquired a masculine spirit, and the other day distinguished herself by dispossessing a lady of her place at the play; the company at Bath did not approve of the violence of her proceedings, and if the monarch Nash had not lost most of his power and prerogative, I imagine he would have obliged her to behave better. If she proposed to herself these heroic deeds, I do not think little Kit would have been a proper champion; so diminutive a person and so pacific a spirit would have ill assorted those acts of violence. I propose to come to town at the meeting of the Parliament, but I am much afraid

your Grace will be returned to Bullstrode. I am greatly concerned at Lady Wallingford's ill health; Mrs. Donnellan says she is not better than when I left her. I beg my compliments. In what part of the world is Mrs. Delany conversing with the Muses? I long much to see her, and hope she will be in town when I come, if your Grace is there, otherwise she will be in the blest regions of Bullstrode. The post is going out, and I must only add Mr. Montagu's compliments to your Grace and my Lord Duke, and beg mine to his Grace and the ladies."

ELIZABETH MONTAGU to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.*

1762, June 22. Sandleford.—"I hope your Grace will pardon the liberty I take in troubling you with a letter, but the state of spirits in which I saw you in town left an anxiety upon my mind that I could not till now have suppressed, if my health would have allowed me to write. I am under the utmost apprehensions that the great effort your Grace makes to hide your grief from those whose tender part in it hurts you more than your own sufferings may have some very bad effect on your health; and as your Grace's welfare is of such importance to them, I must beg that even for their sakes you would not do great violence to yourself. Sorrow is a kind of poison, and, if not suffered to exhale itself in sighs and tears, has the more fatal consequences. Your Grace, with your friends who are less nearly connected with your affliction, but whose sympathy is such that they will think of your consolation while they feel your grief, should suffer your sorrow to have its way unconstrained. There is no doubt but your Grace's piety and good sense will in time set before you every argument of consolation. The sting of death is sin; the person your Grace laments was the most free even from sinful thought and evil disposition of perhaps any one in the world. The prayers of the widow, the orphan, and distressed were continually offered up in his behalf; no heart ever groaned under his oppression, not even an insolent thought ever arose in his mind. Where in his great rank can one find such another character! He did justice, loved mercy, and walked humbly with his God, [and] added to the great virtues of a Christian character those that became his great station and fortunes. Your Grace loved him too well long to lament that he is taken from the warfare of the world and a state of trial to one of perfect bliss and certain reward. Surrounded as he was with every worldly blessing, he still in a mortal state must be liable to *all the shocks that flesh is heir to*. Had any illness threatened your Grace's life, from whom all his blessings were derived, what would not he have suffered! Add, dear Madam, to all your other noble and tender proofs of faithful attachment to him that of care of your health, which perhaps is still a most dear concern to him.

"Your Grace in the most unbounded prosperity has shewn a mind superior to the intoxications of greatness and wealth; you

* Now, by the death of her husband, Duchess Dowager.

have still remembered the Hand from whence they came, and enjoyed them with humility; I am not therefore afraid your Grace should forget it is the same Hand that chastises you. I expect everything from your resignation and good sense, but these considerations must have a time to take effect, and in the mean while I fear the consequences of your constraint. Some unhappy instances of this kind, which have happened amongst my particular friends, perhaps may make me more apprehensive, and I hope your Grace will therefore pardon the liberty I take in writing on so tender a subject. I had but little time to talk on the subject with you in town, but the violence I saw your Grace put upon yourself that evening gave me very anxious and uneasy thoughts. I hope your good nature will pardon a heart that has many motives of high regard and gratitude towards you for speaking so freely. May your Grace enjoy many, many years of health and happiness! The very extraordinary merit of your family cannot fail of giving you the greatest felicity. It has been a singular mercy of Providence that you did not meet with this trial before they were of an age to shew you all your most partial wishes for them would be answered, and that the heir of so many illustrious ancestors and of such immense fortunes would from his personal wishes and accomplishments add more lustre to them than he derives from them. May the tender attentions of the most affectionate of children make you remember the importance of your health to them, and the harm it may receive by too violent constraint."

Elizabeth Montagu to the Duchess of Portland.

1764, December 9. Bath.—"The lampoons and panegyrics which your Grace must have seen dated from Tunbridge and Bath, must long ago have convinced you that the waters there are of a nature very different from those of Helicon; but, unless you immediately conversed with those who drank them, your Grace could never imagine the headache, the dizziness, or, to call things by their true names, the stupidity that comes on the least application. Very conscious of all this I long forbore to write to your Grace, but being rather less disordered by the waters for this last two or three days, I have ventured to take up my pen and ink, in some hope, [that] though dull, I may be intelligible, but it is very probable this will appear an ill-grounded presumption before my letter is ended. Mrs. Boscawen is extremely flattered by your Grace's obliging remembrance and offer of the China pheasants. She says she has not anything prepared to receive birds of such quality and distinction. She is possessed only of chicken-pens and hen-roosts, but Lady Smythe, at whose villa Mrs. Boscawen passes great part of the spring, has more elegant accommodations; but Mrs. Boscawen could not accept any favour from the Duchess of Portland to convey it to another, though her particular friend, without her Grace's permission. I came to this place merely to visit my sister, who fell very ill at Sandleford in the autumn, but, being on the spot, I thought

I would take the opportunity of drinking the waters, and I think they have been of service as to my usual and constant disorder of the stomach. Of the pleasures of the place I can say little. The rooms were prodigiously crowded with very uncouth figures most wonderfully dressed; those whom Nature designed to be homely Art rendered hideous, and many, whom education made awkward, mantua-makers, tailors, friseurs and milliners made monstrous. Some of the misses seemed to be adorned with the scalps of Indian warriors, whether brought them by their lovers from America, or that they are now sold in London as part of our importation from our Colonies, I do not know; but I must say that under our hemisphere I never saw such terrible dresses. Absurdity of a more melancholy sort appeared in poor Earl Granville and his illustrious Countess. His Lordship appeared in that kind of wig which is vulgarly called a scratch, and so dirty and dishevelled is the said wig that the word 'scratch' does not seem at all misapplied. The rest of his dress was in the scratch order. In this figure he walks up and down the ball-room, and relates in his manner the various disputes between him and Lady Cowper. The elegance of her Ladyship's manner, and the dignity of her grief for Lord Cowper, was very burlesquely represented by Lord Granville, who has wits enough to ridicule others, and folly enough to make himself ridiculous, so that I must own what made many laugh made me melancholy. It is grievous to see such a creature represent the late Lord Granville, who had all the grace and dignity of manner added to great talents. Your Grace will easily imagine I am not extremely delighted with the terrible misses in scalps, or the wonderful peer in a scratch, so that my amusements in the public rooms is not great; but I have had the pleasure of seeing my sister and Mrs. Boscawen recover their health in a manner I could hardly have hoped, so I intend to leave this place to-morrow."

Elizabeth Montagu to the Duchess of Portland.

[1772 ?] July 29. Sandleford.—"My memory has most preciously stored up ten thousand instances of your Grace's being the occasion of joy and happiness to me, but never could I receive greater felicity from you than last night, when your most kind and welcome letter assured me the fever had left you. I would not speak worse of even a fever behind its back than it deserves, but I can truly affirm that, while it hung about you, it made many people very wretched, and amongst them your humble servant. It darkened the joy of my noon-day saunter, and cast a heavy gloom on my evening's walk. I have sometimes had a low fever for some months, and know by experience how grievous it is. Thank God your Grace has got rid of what is a sad enemy to every individual it seizes, but, when you are attacked by it, many are afflicted. Let me intreat your Grace not to expose yourself to the evening air; I used to find it very pernicious when I was in a feverish disposition.

"I wrote to Dr. Beattie last week, and told him how kindly your Grace and Mrs. Delany always mentioned him, and often enquired after his health. The account he gives of Mrs. Beattie is very melancholy. Your Grace would observe with pleasure that we may expect some productions of his muse. I have said everything I could to encourage him to publish some of the essays, which he says he had formerly written for his pupils and those who attend his lectures. They will communicate instruction and pleasure to the world, and the attention he will give to them during the publication will in some degree divert his mind from its domestic sorrows and his own bodily infirmities. I fancy from what I have heard of his eldest boy, he greatly resembles the Doctor in talents and disposition. His push and knowledge are beyond his infant years, but as they set him above playing with a football, a racket, and other juvenile sports and exercises, I am afraid he will never attain any degree of health and spirits. Great geniuses are naturally inclined to melancholy; it is pity any want of animal spirits should make them still less gay. Above life's follies, and its comforts too, may be an eminent condition, but it does not appear to me an enviable one.

"I have not seen that work of Mr. Hume's which Dr. Beattie alludes to; I hope it will not have any extensive bad consequences, but at Edinburgh they will receive the doctrine of this antichristian apostle with great reverence. Just as I had written this much of my letter I had a visit from a person upon business, so your Grace is happily released from all the nonsense I should have written if leisure had allowed. As I think nonsense to be very wholesome and as good for an invalid as panada or barley water, I shall now and then take the liberty of writing to your Grace, till your strength is so established you can pursue your usual amusements."

Elizabeth Montagu to the Duchess of Portland.

[1773] August 1. Portman Square.—"Though a quill is as light as a feather, and mine does not carry any weight of sense or solidity of reasoning, yet, while the weather was so sultry as it has been for some weeks past, writing appeared a fatigue to me; so I cannot assume any merit in not having before troubled your Grace with a letter, as my seeming discretion in this point had not any better source than a perfect inability to write. My physicians have long told me that writing is very bad for me and will bring the spasms in my stomach, but Phœbus only, the god of the physicians, could ever make me totally abandon the practice. The beams he has darted into my dressing [room] have indeed had this effect. I rejoiced at reading in the papers that your Grace was gone to Margate, for there is always a refreshing breeze on the sea-shore, and I flatter myself you have therefore suffered less by the hot weather than we have done here. I was happy to find by Mrs. Carter's letters that the Kentish coast has not been visited by the storms which have been so terrible in

many parts of the world. The lightning struck a tree one evening very near my house, but, thank God, did not do any greater mischief to us, but it has done a great deal of mischief in our neighbourhood.

"I hope your Grace is pleased with Dr. Beattie's new work; I confess there are some parts of it which require more attention than I can at present dedicate to literary pursuits, but there are many chapters of it pleasing, amusing and instructive, which one may read without such serious application. I was much afraid Dr. Beattie's domestic affliction would have rendered him incapable of the attention required to arrange what he had, I believe, chiefly composed for the lectures he gives as professor in the university at Aberdeen, and am very happy to see he has done it in a manner which must do him honour and be of use to the public. I am not without hopes he may make a visit while I am in Northumberland. To have my mind carried from the bottom of a coal-mine to the top of Parnassus will be a very agreeable change. My mornings when at Denton are always spent in the drudgery of business; if in the evening the Doctor will carry it into the playfields of imagination, I shall think myself greatly obliged to him. I propose to set out for the North the end of next week.

"I had intended passing a few days with Mr. and Mrs. Smelt in my way, but they are going to take the benefit of sea-bathing at Mr. Cholmeley's at Whitby, so I must defer my visit till I am in my way back. I own I regret that it has happened so, for at this fine season of the year I should have found at Langton all the delights of Paradise, and conversation as virtuous and pure as that of our first parents. Mr. Smelt has lived in camps and in Court, and is now a country farmer. In the military life he did not lose any of the purity of his morals, nor of the integrity of his principles in a Court, nor in the country has he contracted any rusticity. In every place he appears respectable and amiable, but he never appears to so great advantage as at his place in the country; he seems to have communicated a pleasing elegance and sweet serenity to everything around him. Mrs. Smelt assents, consents and sympathizes in everything he says, thinks and feels. The tender veneration, the affectionate obedience their daughters shew them on all occasions makes the domestic felicity complete. Admitted into this society one almost thinks one is gone into a better world.

"The regions around me at Denton do not present me with celestial visions; there one seems rather to approach the dark dominions of Pluto; and as I am a coal-owner myself, I am sorry to say our sentiments are too like our domains, dark and narrow, and rather tending to the realms below. We are all anxious for our gains, and very jealous of our neighbours. I shall be glad, when I have settled all my business there, to purify my mind in the society of the Smelts. He has been sadly tormented with the gout since he left London, and Mrs. Smelt, who always sympathizes, has had the rheumatic gout in her knee, but they both hope relief from sea-bathing.

"I hope my dear friend Mrs. Vesey is now settled at Margate. I imagine you will often take an evening's walk together on the sea-shore. If I had wings, or Fortunatus' cap, which I should prefer even to an Imperial crown, you would rarely enjoy a *tête à tête*."

ELIZABETH MONTAGU to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

1773, December 9. London.—I should have had the honour of answering your Grace's letter the very day I received it, but I had then a good deal of company at dinner, and some of them stayed till almost eleven o'clock. Yesterday passed in that miserable kind of hurley-burley which I believe peculiar to the sweet town of London; or at least, like the fogs of November and the dust of May, it is thicker, more suffocating, and worse here than in any other part of the world; people of business in the morning, visits, engagements, notes and cards without number at night; so that I was harassed and fatigued before *the watchman's drowzy charm* dismissed me and my little cares to rest. It was only the night before I had the honour of your Grace's letter that I heard of Mrs. Delany's fall, and though I had the comfort of hearing that she was well again, yet I was exceedingly shocked to think of the danger she had been in, and I was but too well aware of the consequences of such an alarm to your Grace's nerves and spirits. Your tender sensibilities to your friends often hurt your health, and I have often thought that, if your Grace had not had so good a heart, you would have had better, nay, perhaps perfect health. The unfeeling are generally pure well. But then, alas! one cares little whether they are so or not, and how little avails towards happiness the health for which no one is interested, the joys and prosperities in which no one sympathizes! The social state is truly the state of Nature, for it is that which is most agreeable to the nature of man, and that for which his great Author designed him. I will therefore hope with our poet, the *broadest mirth unfeeling Folly wears Less pleasing far than Virtue's very tears*, and that the Duchess of Portland, who relieves the misfortunes of many and feels for the afflictions of all, is happier than all the merry crew who never even in thought visited the house of mourning. I cannot but think, at a time when your Grace was in solicitude and care about Mrs. Delany, how absurd I must appear by introducing such a queer stranger as Gondibert; truly had I known so valuable a person had but hurt her little finger, I should not have thought of the Great Achilles, or the well-sung Æneas; and to bring in an irruption of the Goths at Bullstrode just at such a season was *mal à propos*. Your Grace, who has so nobly assisted the Botham family, will be glad to hear that good Lord Dartmouth has promised to do something for Henry Botham, and Lord Dartmouth's promises have nothing of the fragility of a courtier's or fallaciousness of a minister's promise. His Lordship had last summer shewn a kind disposition towards him on charitable motives, so I ventured to wait on Lady Dart-

mouth, and tell her the great distress of the family on the death of the father; knowing that there are hearts which are affected by distress, and that her's and her lord's are such. Poverty and care could not be better represented in the person of any ambassador than by the thin, pale, yellow face of your humble servant. Lady Dartmouth received me with infinite good-nature and humanity, and for once I was not humiliated by begging, nor bid go about my business, for there was nothing for me some years ago in behalf of the same Henry Botham. I waited on a Nabob's Lady, and I protest I had rather be knouted *à la mode* of the Court of Russia, or bastinadoed *à la Turque* than suffer again the sublime disdain of an Oriental Princess towards an humble suitor. Not so did behave Lady Dartmouth; she sent me home charmed with her, and not at all discontented with myself. Mr. Edward and Mr. George Drummond dined with me on Sunday, and gave a good account of the Archbishop's health. Your Grace is very good to interest yourself for mine; I thank God I am pretty well. I called on Lady Primrose the other night. She is but poorly, and I think much worse than last winter. I had a letter from Mrs. Vesey yesterday; she is pretty well, and still at Lucan, but will soon remove to Dublin. It is said Lady Effingham is to marry General Howard. They are very good people, but I should think they are both quite as well as they are; however, they must know best. He is more lively than her first husband, she is better natured than his first wife, so the comparison will always be to their advantage.

"I hear that letters sufficient to compose a volume of Madame de Sévigné have been lately found and are going to be published, at which I am sure your Grace will rejoice. She is certainly the first favourite of the Muse that presides over letter-writing; such inimitable grace, such ease, elegance, and sprightliness of narration, so much good sense in her wit, such justness of thought in her reflections, render her letters delightful as letters, and valuable as giving the manners of the times and characters of the principal persons of the Court.

"Mrs. Boscawen is come to town in good health and spirits. Mrs. Chapone is much troubled with pains in her face; she has promised to dine with me to-morrow, if she is well enough. I live in hopes that it will not be long before I have the happiness of seeing your Grace, a happiness I greatly and impatiently long for. I am very sorry the rheumatism has attacked you, and I dread the effect of Mrs. Delany's fall upon your nerves, and I cannot but think change of place and objects would be good for your spirits; though I know no place so charming as Bullstrode, nor where every object within and without is so beautiful and elegant; but still change is beneficial when any painful impression has been made upon the mind. My best compliments and best wishes attend Mrs. Delany."

Elizabeth Montagu to the Duchess of Portland.

[1773?] Hill Street.—"I am encouraged to hope by Mrs. Lambard, upon whom I called in my way to London, that your

Grace will be for some days in town. I heartily congratulate you on the happy state of Lady Weymouth's family, all recovering so happily from a formidable distemper, which will relieve your Grace and Lady Weymouth from many anxieties. I found Mrs. Lambard surrounded by her blooming daughters at work, one reading the while for the general amusement and instruction of the whole. Surely this education is as good as riding in the *ménage* in the morning and going to assemblies in the evening. Miss Lambards' countenances express a modest cheerfulness and the blush of health and youth, which one does not find in the faces of our modern misses. I walked about the place, which is very pretty, and saw the room lately honoured by the Duchess of Portland. Master Lambard came in and showed a sweet rosy countenance; and all composed a beautiful family piece. Mrs. Lambard kindly pressed me to stay and dine with her, and I wished to enjoy more of her company and of the sight of so much domestic felicity, but was afraid of being late on the road; however, I spent two agreeable hours with her. I shall stay in town till Saturday, and will not make any engagements till I know whether your Grace has a leisure hour to bestow. I have been amused by a Life of Sir Thomas Pope, in which there are some anecdotes of Queen Elizabeth when Princess; if your Grace should like to see them, my book shall have the honour to wait on you. It is written by Mr. Warton, Professor of Poetry at Oxford. I am now going to dine with my sister at Chelsea; I shall be back before nine. I have a thousand things to say, but hope to deliver them *viva voce* before long."

Elizabeth Montagu to the Duchess of Portland.

1774, November 11. Sandleford.—"Will your Grace accept of a letter from a head just emerged from plodding dullness and then whirled about in confusion? You will think, perhaps, from the account I have given that I have first attended the councils of some sage aldermen in the nomination of a candidate, and then followed him to his election. But no such thing; the dullness and confusion I complain of are all my own. I have been taking a year's accounts from Mr. Montagu's steward, and, as soon as they were finished, I began the necessary preparations for my removal to Hill Street, where I hope to arrive to-morrow evening. Mr. Montagu will follow me thither on Monday. He loves to have the family settled before he comes, and I was rejoiced that I could prevail on him not to delay his journey longer, for this house is so old it is miserably cold in the winter. I am afraid it will be some time before your Grace will be able to persuade yourself to leave Bullstrode; it has beauties in all seasons, and if the rural scene is darkened by rain or fog, you can delight your eyes with fine landscapes. The pencil of the painter and the pen of the poet supply the absence of verdure and sunshine; their groves never lose their leafy honours, nor are their prospects obscured by mists.

"I was sure your Grace would approve Dr. Beattie's disinterested conduct, and I knew also that your approbation will give him the highest pleasure. I am very uneasy about Mrs. Beattie's state of health; I fear she will not live long; if she dies, the Doctor will marry again, not (as my Lady Wishfort* says) from any sinister appetite to the reiteration of nuptials, but for the reason all studious men of his sort marry, because they want somebody to make their shirts, mend their stockings, and take care to have dinner on the table at a regular hour. A philosopher is as helpless as an infant in domestic life. Our friend Dr. Young in his old age contrived the best; he had always some matron cloathed in grey, who sat at the head of his table in decent sort, helped the guests, took care that the Doctor should not forget he was at dinner; and when the tablecloth was taken away, the sober gentlewoman shrunk back into her muslin hood, and with composed serenity of countenance listened to the conversation of the company. With the same affability and discretion she poured out the coffee and made the tea, and such was her temper and deportment she was fit to have been High Priestess in the temple of the Great Apollo, if he had wanted a domestic establishment. Never did I see her disturbed in any of her great offices of carving, helping to sauce, or sweetening the coffee, by any of the sublime or witty things Dr. Young uttered. Often have I dropped the bit of chicken off my fork, by a sudden start at something new and ingenious said by our friend, while she, with a steady hand and sober mind, divided the leg of the goose from the side, and other things that equally required an undivided attention. Such a placid personage is a great blessing to a philosopher, but the difficulty is to find one who would suit so young a man as my friend Dr. Beattie. He will wish for beauty and be charmed by vivacity, and a lively handsome girl may be averse to the retirement and tranquillity he would like. I am sure your Grace will be glad to hear that Miss Mary Botham is going to be well married; the present rector of Albury takes her as belonging to the glebe. He is a very great mathematician, and has a good character and tolerable preferment, and is so kind as to make his addresses to my cousin. He is very much in love with her understanding and her virtues, and indeed I am glad she has had the good fortune to meet with such a match, for the men are not apt to marry for understanding and virtues, though they are the great sources of happiness. Miss Gregory begs leave to present her best respects. Mine attend Mrs. Delany. I hope your Grace will not forget how quiet and comfortable the town is before the meeting of the Parliament. There is at this time of the year just society enough to make one's amusements independent of weather, and if the morning is dark and foggy, the social circle of the evening makes amends."

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* See Congreve's *The Way of the World.*

ELIZABETH MONTAGU to the DUCHESS OF PORTLAND.

[1775 ?], January 13. Hill Street.—"I had intended to-morrow, when I expect a visit from Mr. Boyd, to have proceeded by your Grace's encouragement to set forward the plan I had formed for Miss Kitty Chapone, but the letter I received on Friday has thrown me into new embarrassments. Mr. Boyd had a very great desire to get Mrs. Chapone to take the care of his daughters, and would have come into any conditions to have obtained her, but his esteem does not go in so high a degree to any other person, so it was rather to serve Miss Kitty Chapone than to oblige Mr. Boyd that I conceived the project of substituting her to her sister, and now so many delays and difficulties are put in the way I do not know how to act. I was afraid of meeting with too many on the part of Mr. Boyd, who objects to exposing his daughters to learn a peculiar cast of the eye; but should I get over this difficulty, how does one know when Mrs. Sandford will be well enough to be consulted about her sister? When she is so, she may have scruples on the point of reputation. If I could persuade Mr. Boyd to take Miss Chapone, he would undoubtedly write to her the conditions and what he would settle as annuity, but I don't know that to her he would make use of the same terms he did to Mrs. Chapone, to whom he said that all he expected was to secure a friend to his daughters whose conversation and example would lead them into all that was good and virtuous; this was a proper politeness to a woman of Mrs. Chapone's distinguished talents, and who had lived in the world, but to a young person he may not use the same complimentary style. Miss Chapone's good education and disposition promise a good companion for Miss Boyds, but to answer that she may be perfectly the example young women in so different a situation in life should take is saying too much. How can I be assured Mr. Boyd will like my instructions to write in this manner? and perhaps Mrs. Sandford may be mortified in her weak state of spirits, if he does not use all this politeness. I see there is still some scruple about Miss Chapone's incurring any censure by living with an unmarried man. I cannot answer that folly or malice may not say an absurd or cruel thing, but I think your Grace agreed with me that there was no great danger of it. The eldest Miss Boyd is twelve years old; she will therefore be a guard to Miss Chapone when in the room with her, and I can make Mr. Boyd sensible it will be better not to be much with her when the girls are not present. The worst that can happen from this caution may be that Mr. Boyd may think I am of Lady Wishfort's constitution, who says, *what is integrity to an opportunity*? However, I believe he has too much good sense not to understand the delicacy of a young woman's situation. Indeed, I would not for the world persuade Miss Chapone to accept this situation if I thought it endangered her character, which, though of less value than virtue itself, is certainly the next best thing, and what duty requires every one

to be careful of. Advise me therefore, dear Lady Duchess, what I shall do in all these perplexities.

"I am myself convinced Miss Chapone may never again have an opportunity of such an establishment. Her dependent state is subject to many real evils. Mrs. Chapone is entirely of my opinion that this would be a very happy and advantageous establishment for her sister. Every condition of life has its evils, a dependent one many, and especially that of an humble companion. Mrs. Sandford, who has found a Mrs. Delany, knows nothing of them, but how few people, who for want of an independent subsistence have been forced to enter into a family in the quality of nurses to old ladies, or companions to country gentlewomen, have not suffered more indignities and mortifications than belong to servitude itself! If Miss Chapone, therefore, has not an independent fortune she must either accept this sort of situation, or live as companion to some old maiden whose peevishness has driven from her all who are able to subsist without her, or some ancient matron who is too blind to write her own letters, too deaf to understand her family, or so lame she wants to be led from one room to another, for in these days no one takes a companion that it* is not under some inability or incapacity. To anything of this sort I should think it far preferable to have the care of three girls of an amiable disposition over whom she is to have the authority of a parent, and then she will secure such an annuity as will be a provision for life.

"It seems to me such solid advantages should not be sacrificed to unnecessary delicacies. At the same time I am sensible Mrs. Sandford has been used by Mrs. Delany with such perfect tenderness, generosity and delicacy, every state compared with her own will appear terrible. Your Grace, who knows the world, will be sensible it may be long before one finds any person with Mrs. Delany's sentiments and temper. I know your Grace's humanity will excuse my giving you all this trouble, but indeed Miss Kitty Chapone's present situation is a very unhappy one, which first induced me to think of this resource for her, and now between compassion for her, regard for Mrs. Chapone, and the apprehension of offending Mrs. Sandford, which would hurt Mrs. Delany, I am entirely embarrassed, but shall think I do right, if your Grace will have the goodness to tell me your opinion. I have enclosed Mrs. Delany's letter. Mr. Boyd will immediately determine to take some person for his daughters, so I must make an end of the affair some way or another to-morrow; but a line will give me information enough, if you will have so much indulgence."

Elizabeth Montagu to the Duchess of Portland.

1777, June 7. Tunbridge [Wells].—"If I had twelve months instead of twelve minutes in which to answer your Grace's letter, I could not express the joy it gave me. Every post-day I waited the arrival of the mail with an impatience equal to that of a young lady who expects an epistle from her Pastor Fido. If I

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* *Sic.*

had not a good many very respectable and venerable wrinkles in my forehead, I had raised suspicions in the man at the post-office; but I daresay he attributed my impatience to a desire of hearing from some favourite grandson, and wished little Master would write and quiet the old gentlewoman; for I used to be very importunate for my letters. At Tunbridge we have the pleasure of calling often for our letters on the walks, and I think that, like fruit, they have the finest flavour when we gather them fresh. My spirits began to sink exceedingly at not hearing from your Grace, and while the wind was whistling and the rain beating on our hill, I durst not name Tunbridge, but was determined to turn echo to the nightingale as soon as she began her summer note.

"The fine weather is now come to us. We have had indeed a churlish season till to-day. The wind too here plays a peculiar kind of melancholy tune, with variations which render it wonderfully solemn. We have now every reason to expect fine weather, and I shall most anxiously wish it, that your Grace may not suffer too much for the happiness you will give to a heart that loves and honours you, and in whom gratitude feels so like tenderness unmixed as not to express itself with that distance which ceremony would prescribe; and, to be sure, asking your Grace to honour this cottage has an air of presumption. However, it is clean and wholesome, and your Grace's women will be in the next room to you; you will have a bell to tinkle at their ear, and you cannot turn in bed but they must hear you. Dear Madam, as the best people have some sins, submit to longer penance than you talk of. I do not perfectly understand Mr. Hawkins' fear of these waters; they are certainly excellent for the rheumatism. The sooner your Grace can come, in all respects the better, but if you cannot come the end of this month, I will wait for the blessing till it can be had. Church was so late to-day that I cannot indulge myself in writing a long letter, but will take that liberty very soon, and will make report how the skylarks sing their matins and the nightingales their vespers on Mount Ephraim."

Elizabeth Montagu to the Duchess of Portland.

1778, June 11.—"Continual expectation that business would call me to London before your Grace would leave it made me forbear writing, having before me the more pleasing hope of a *viva voce* conversation. When I cannot enjoy that, the most agreeable thing is literary intercourse, and I begin now, as my return to town is put off till Saturday sennight, to apprehend your Grace will before that time have shuffled off the mortal coil of a London life, and have betaken yourself to the Elysian fields of Bullstrode.

"The spring has been unusually tardy, and it is only within these few days that we have even partaken of her agreeable caprices of alternate sunshine and showers. April, who used to be an agreeable coquette, often gay and pleasing, but inconstant, was this year a sullen, cold, severe prude. May, instead of being

a blooming beauty, was an ugly dirty dowdy. June has hardly attained his fresh vigour, and will have the puny air of a minor on Midsummer day, when summer used to be reckoned to come of age. The mornings have been so cold that the lark has been afraid to rise early, and the evenings so chill that the nightingale durst hardly sing to her friends and silence and night for fear of catching a hoarseness. Your Grace will perhaps wonder why in this churlish season I still continue to take up my abode here! Why, my dear Madam, though the sun does not always adorn the hemisphere and gild the scene around us, yet hope cheers us, and promises all we wish for *to-morrow*. I have enjoyed tranquillity and health, and, what I think no trifling advantage, have escaped rumours of war, whispers of invasions, and all the displeasing subjects of conversation which public fears and private indiscretions, I believe, have circulated in society. I have been long accustomed to hear of baillifs and executions in the houses of the male gamblers, but I am told that a lady of great birth and rank has brought herself into the same distress. Genius is ever accompanied with danger; if this lady had not had greater talents for play than (with respect be it spoken) your Grace and your most humble servant, she might have dwelt safe and unmolested in her castle without even the security of a moat round it. Gaming is not only a pernicious, but it is a boisterous vice in a woman. She might with as much propriety and delicacy amuse herself with playing at cudgels and backsword.

"Has your Grace read Monsr. de Luc's* Letters from the Mountains, which he had the honour to address to the Queen. I think they would amuse you. I like the mountains, but am most charmed with the mountain persons. They seem to be in that situation which seems equally distant from the temptations of want and solicitations of luxury. They possess what Agur prayed for in so perfect a state of innocence as not to know the dangers from which they are preserved. Nothing can more fully prove, too, the goodness of the Queen's heart than that Monsr. de Luc should know a description of such humble happiness would be pleasing to her Majesty.

"I propose to come to London for a week in my way to Northumberland, but must not expect the happiness of finding your Grace in town so late in the year.

"I hope your Grace will give me leave to congratulate you on Lord Weymouth's having the Garter, I believe all people will allow it is properly placed. Might I flatter myself Lady Weymouth would accept of my compliments on the occasion?

"I hope Mrs. Delany has not lost any of the good looks in which I left her. My best wishes and respects ever attend her."

Elizabeth Montagu to the Duchess of Portland.

1779, July 20. Sandleford.—"There are some things in this world so precious that there are neither scales nor measures by

* The Genevan Jean André de Luc, author of *Lettres sur quelques parties de la Suisse.*

which to regulate them: the heart feels their value, and will not submit to any thing that those respectable appraisers of ordinary affairs, reason and experience, can say about them. Of this kind is the Duchess of Portland's health, and though Hygea and Æsculapius were to give joint security that she should be well soon, I could not be easy till I heard she was actually so. The good account my porter sent me the other day, on this important and delicate subject, would have given me perfect and complete satisfaction, if the subject had been less important and less delicate. May I beg that your Grace's woman would write me a line? If she assures me that your feverish complaint has entirely taken its leave, I shall read her letter with more pleasure than ever I did the best of Madame Sévigné's, whom the critics, or, what is better, all people of taste, allow to have excelled every one *dans le genre epistolaire*.

"I might perhaps on any other occasion have asked this favour of Mrs. Delany, but as your Grace's good health is the only subject to which her pen could not add charms, or your indisposition such as it could not mitigate and render less painful and unwelcome; it would be wrong to employ in vain what would have such admirable power in any other matter.

"I was greatly mortified that it was not in my power to wait on Mrs. Delany one morning when she told me she should be at home, but I was detained at my new house by my architect, with whom I had before made an appointment. He came at the head of a regiment of artificers an hour after the time he had promised: the bricklayer talked an hour about the alterations to be made in a wall; the stonemason was as eloquent about the coping of the said wall; the carpenter thought the internal fitting up of the house not less important; then came the painter, who is painting my ceilings in various colours according to the present fashion. The morning and my spirits were quite exhausted before these important persons had the goodness to release me. I did not get back to my dinner till near 5 o'clock. The heat of the weather, joined to the hurry and fatigue of business, made me eager to escape from London, and I quitted it with less reluctance as I was convinced Dr. Turton judged rightly in not suffering any one to intrude upon your Grace while you had any remains of fever.

"I hope before this time you are enjoying the paradisaical delights of Bullstrode. I must congratulate your Grace on Lady Stamford's safe delivery of a daughter. I think one may indeed congratulate the world when her ladyship or Lady Weymouth produces daughters, as all the female virtues are hereditary in their lines. As many of our modern dames want the modesty of women, I hope they will have the courage of men, and if they are as void of fear as of shame, they will easily [drive] the French back again if they invade us. I must own that last summer, not foreseeing the probability of an invasion, and the necessity of the young girls serving in the Light Horse, and the matrons being formed into regiments of Dragoons, I was sorry to see them striding about the walks at Tunbridge with their

arms akimbo dressed in martial uniform. I was assured some of them would swear like troopers, so no doubt but they will fight like them. I hope, whenever we are so happy as to have a peace, the Ladies' Regiment will be reformed, as is the phrase. In quiet times gentle Miss Molly appears more amiable than blustering Captain Moll.

"I beg my best compliments to Mrs. Delany. Miss Gregory is ambitious of the honour of presenting her respects to your Grace and Mrs. Delany."

Elizabeth Montagu to the Duchess of Portland.

1779, December 1. Hill Street.—"Having dined and spent the evening with Mrs. Vesey, I had not time last night to return thanks for the honour and pleasure of your Grace's letter. I am infinitely obliged to your Grace for so kindly interesting yourself for the giddy nephew and the careful aunt. He recovered the blow on his stomach sooner than I did the shock of mind on the occasion. He soon returned to Harrow, where he runs up and down the Hill, I dare say, with as impetuous velocity as if there were neither posts nor stomachs in the world.

"My stomach (by way of sympathy) was somewhat afflicted with spasms for some days after the fright, but, thank God, my apprehensions for him were soon over, and the spasms having no new call retreated. Oh, Madam, did not the sudden death of Lord Lyttelton make you rejoice that his good father did not live to see an event for which the poor young man was so little prepared! My servants saw him pass my door with three gay females at two o'clock; these girls were three sisters, and his cousins; by eleven o'clock that night he was called to another world! He carried these Miss Amfletts in his coach to his villa near Epsom; at supper, I hear, he declared himself hungry, soon after complained of pain at his stomach, and expired.

"The usual tenor of his life, the horrid party of pleasure he was at the time of his death engaged in, would fill one with unspeakable terrors, if one had not some reason to imagine there was a tincture of madness in him. I have heard his father say, with tears in his eyes, that however dreadful it was to a parent to think their children mad, his son was such. He was glad to fly to it as a refuge from apprehensions more terrible; but in that opinion he had a hope the young man's outrageously bad conduct would render him unhappy only in this world. It is said he has left 5,000*l.* to each of these Miss Amfletts; poor amend for their loss of reputation, if that be all they have lost.

"He has left the rest of what was in his disposal to Lady Valentia, who will be much shocked and afflicted at this event. Lord and Lady Valentia have been obliged to retire to Abergavenny, to board in a clergyman's family. This money will be a relief for a time; but unless secured by settlement, I fear it will soon be dissipated. Lord Westcote will possess Hagley and some estate immediately; the rest, I suppose, will be his after the death of the two dowager Lady Lytteltons. Lord

Lyttelton's speech the first day of the meeting of Parliament, in which he talked of his principles and his patriotism, made one laugh, but his death turned farce into tragedy. There was an elaborate encomium upon him in my newspaper to-day. It is the fashion, and a very pernicious one, to make a man's parts a kind of apology for his wickedness, but surely they aggravate guilt in a greater degree than they grace virtue.

"I hope your Grace has done Mr. Jerningham the honour to read his new poem. I think there are many charming lines in it. He has graced the simplicity of an ancient feast with a great deal of elegance, but yet has preserved the character of the wake, which appears more charming than a modern *fête champêtre* or regatta.

"Mr. Cole, who called on me one morning, spoke in raptures of the happiness he enjoyed at Bullstrode. I could easily give credit to all that could be said of the place and its queen, who with her there have enjoyed the happiest days of my life, and that happiness was not the mere result of internal gaiety, and the pleasures which dance away with down upon their feet; but your Grace's conversation and example led me to a way of thinking which makes the happiness of all times and all seasons. You taught me neither to admire nor covet what was not really good.

"I hear there is a very lively letter from Charles Fox to Mr. J. Townshend; it is written by Mr. Tickel. I wait for Mrs. Denoyer to bring it to me; she has not always the earliest intelligence from Parnassus. I believe I must send her a hint to-morrow morning.

"I am happy in the hope of getting a glimpse of your Grace. I dined with the Veseys yesterday, and had the pleasure of meeting Lord Macartney, who is a great favourite of mine. I find Lady Macartney finds this climate too cold for her.

"Lord Shelburne was to make a motion in the House of Lords to-day. Modern patriots treat the constitution of England as apothecaries do their patients; they endeavour to give a motion every day, and fancy that will carry off all distempers. Mr. Smelt called on me this morning, his visit would have made me very happy, if he could have told me the Bath waters had been serviceable to Mrs. Cholmley, but she has had a cold which has delayed her making trial of them; she is to stay at Bath the whole winter.

"When will your Grace settle in town? I own Bullstrode has charms for all seasons, but we who are in this sinful, smoky town want your Grace's society to purify and enliven it."

Elizabeth Montagu to the Duchess of Portland.

[1780], June 29. Hill Street.—"The obliging letter your Grace did me the honour to write having been directed to Portman Square, where I have not yet any established family, it was not conveyed to me till yesterday. I should have returned my thanks for so kind a remembrance of me last night, but did not get home from my visits till it was too late to send a letter.

"Though I was safe in Berkshire during the riots, the news of them utterly destroyed all the comforts of security, and I felt more than the horrors of personal danger while I considered so many persons so much more valuable were threatened, insulted and injured.

"I can hardly bear to think of the state of things at that time, and less to write about them. Our country is for ever disgraced, and dishonour is the most irretrievable, irremediable of all misfortunes. The doctrines that have been lately preached to the mob prepared them to do mischief, and I must confess I am very apprehensive that there was some deep-laid conspiracy. I imagine the wretches who pulled down houses were like the iron crows they used, mere instruments in the hands of the wicked.

"I came to town last Monday upon business, and also with an intention to hasten the finishing of my new house. I have not had an hour's leisure since my arrival. Six weeks' fresh air and leisure had perfectly restored my health; but I fear, if the weather continues hot and my business comes so thick upon me, I shall not long preserve it. I propose to return to Sandleford the first moment I can get those things done which I came to London to accomplish. I am always happiest in the country at this time of year, and the late villainous behaviour of the people has made me almost a misanthrope, and I had rather *walk with the beasts joint-tenant of the shade* than live fellow citizen here with such wretches. Indeed, the baseness of wickedness of some makes the noble character of others appear more excellent and sublime. Lord Mansfield's conduct has been great indeed; I thought I had long had as high a respect for him as was possible, but my respect is heightened to almost adoration.

"There is an idle rumour that a certain peer was killed in the riot disguised like a chimney-sweeper. I rather believe he will live a chimney-sweeper disguised in the robes of a peer.

"Mr. Vesey's health being in a very unpromising way, Dr. Warren seems inclined to send him to drink the Sunning Hill waters.

"I have been so often interrupted since I sat down to write that the third letter-bell has overtaken me at the third page of my letter, by which your Grace will be released sooner than I should have prevailed on myself.

"I shall be anxious to hear that the lovely tranquil scenes of Bullstrode have restored your Grace's health and spirits."

Elizabeth Montagu to the Duchess of Portland.

1783, November 22. Portman Square.—"When I had the honour to receive your Grace's letter, I was immersed in vulgar business and vulgar cares, and it would have been strange presumption to have applied the same pen to addressing to the Duchess of Portland which had been used in writing the accounts of a coal-mine. After two months spent at Denton in these low attentions I passed from this purgatory to the Elysian fields of Househam, and converse with the celestial spirits of Mr. and

Mrs. Smelt, and Mr. and Mrs. Cholmley. Persons, things within doors and without, were all wonderfully changed for the better. Denton is an old Gothic mansion, but, like what has been originally vulgar in its character, years have not rendered it venerable. Then, having been built before our union with Scotland, the architect had more attention in making the windows to excluding the arrows and missive weapons of the Scotch, than to admitting the rays of the sun, nor can one discern any object unless standing on tiptoe almost, but the tops of some tall elms.

"Househam was, I believe, built in the days of good Queen Bess, and retains on the outside the serious character, the substantial merit, of those times; within modern elegance and refined taste render it agreeable. The view from the windows is very pleasing; you behold a navigable river gently gliding through a green valley adorned with fine trees, and the prospect is much enlivened by barges continually passing. I must confess these provincial rivers, which carry on the commerce and are subservient to the convenience of the country, merely awaken in me ideas more agreeable than the ocean-bearing ships of war with Bellona's thunder in their sides, or the Thames bringing up the spoils of the East Indies, or the produce of the labour of slaves from the West Indies. At least one may affirm the great beneficial stream is more suitable to the characters of the master and mistress of the place than the proud impetuous waves that carry on the business of avarice or schemes of ambition.

"Mr. and Mrs. Cholmley wish not for any power but the power of doing good, nor contend for any superiority but that which transcendent virtue gives; and all they covet is to make those around them happy. They have built a village very near their house, and fitted up and furnished the houses with all the decent comforts humble life requires, and these habitations are bestowed on their old or married servants who are obliged to retire. The children of the latter are taught to read, write, cast accounts, sew, knit, spin, etc., at a school established by Mr. Cholmley, and well regulated and frequently inspected by Mrs. Cholmley. If in the golden age villages were built and inhabited, I dare say in their modes and their manners they resembled the village at Househam in every respect. Your Grace will not wonder that I thought a week a short visit at such a place and in such society, but business called me to town. However, being very desirous my nephew Montagu should have the advantage of a longer residence with the Virtues of Househam, I gave him leave to continue some days longer there, though Alma Mater called him to keep the term at Cambridge. However wise that old lady may pretend to be, I think she cannot teach any better lesson than how to be good and happy, and that may be learnt from the example and conversation of the Smelts and Cholmleys. I should have made a visit at Mr. and Mrs. Smelt's in my way to Denton, but they were at that time at Whitby for the benefit of the sea air, which proved very serviceable to them. They are now gone to their sweet retreat in a valley adorned by the river Swale.

"I wish that to your Grace's enquiry after my ingenious and good friend Doctor Beattie I could give more ample information. I have not heard from him [for] some months; indeed we are zealous friends but lazy correspondents. Writing letter is unpleasant to him and unwholesome to me, and indeed, unless persons converse often together and live in the same society, literary correspondence cannot go on briskly. I consider familiar epistles to be made up of the thoughts of the moment and the occurrences of the hour; even if the air-balloon, society, should set a post to the moon and stars, I should not know how to address to the sages in Saturn, or the man in the moon. I wrote to Dr. Beattie that I intended to spend the latter part of the summer in Northumberland and hoped he would make me a visit there, but I had not either visit or letter. I have had the comfort of hearing he is pretty well, and the same person informed me that poor Mrs. Beattie's mind was so far restored that she lived again with the Doctor and her children. I dare say your Grace has received great pleasure from Dr. Beattie's Lectures. I think the world much obliged to him and to Dr. Blair for publishing their Lectures. I do not know any works more pleasing, nor more instructive. I have been much rejoiced at a report that Dr. Blair will give us another volume of sermons.

"Miss Hamilton will have given your Grace an account of Mr. and Mrs. Vesey, but the night before last Mr. Vesey was ill, and had he not been cupped instantly, would probably have had a fit. I am not happy about Mrs. Vesey; she has lost her appetite, and, what is worse, in a great degree her hearing; she is very feeble, and her spirits are often low; her corporeal form, always mince and delicate, is much shrunk, and I am almost afraid she should *melt into air, into thin air, and like an insubstantial* [*pageant*] *faded, leave not a rack behind.* As to Mr. Vesey, he has all the properties of flesh and blood, and I think he will not spiritualize and vanish like a ghost."

Elizabeth Montagu to the Duchess of Portland.

[1783,] December 6. Bath.—"I should assume a merit to which I have not the least pretensions, if I attributed to discretion my long forbearance of troubling your Grace with a letter; so I will honestly confess, it has been owing to an inflammation in my eyes. The disorder was not in the extreme degree, but threatened to become worse by any application; it is now so much abated it will allow me to write your Grace a Bath Chronicle, though it would not permit me to transmit you our country journal. I am sorry to say, it may be difficult to determine which would have been the least dull according to La Bruyère, who asserts, *qu'il vaut mieux passer sa vie à ne rien faire, qu'à faire des riens.* [He] would decide in favour of the country journal, and very justly, if the writer was addicted to thinking in seasons of solitude and leisure, but my reveries would be less worthy your Grace's attention than even the history of a Bath life.

"At my arrival here on Monday sennight I found the place very full of company, a multitude of Irish who come in quest of amusement, many English in pursuit of health; from the days of King Bladud to the present more have been disappointed than have succeeded in their designs on either of these objects. Our happiness and our health depend more on our original formation and constitution than on any other things. The weak stomach may digest a little better, and these waters and the dull and indolent mind may be a little enlivened by balls and assemblies; but cheerfulness and health are blessings we must receive from the bounty of Heaven, not the contrivances or skill of man.

"For my own part I have not any motive for passing some weeks in this place, but to enjoy the conversation of a friend, who passes most of his time in a distant country. I always make a visit to Bath when the Primate of Ireland comes to England, as I enjoy more of his conversation here than in the bustle of London. I was very happy in the good account his Grace gave me of Lord Mansfield, a health in which the world is much interested. I find Lord Hardwicke has not yet received much benefit from these waters, nor indeed is his case such as to give any flattering hopes of a cure. Lady Grey and Lady Belle Polwarth seem both in good health. The Duke of Northumberland seems in perfect health. Lord Nugent is as gay as he was forty years ago. The summers do not ripen all geniuses, nor the winters wither them. To pass in the different seasons of life from gaiety to discretion, and from discretion to gravity, is the best way of making the journey through this world, but to fall from levity to sadness is terrible; so, as my Lord Nugent set out on his journey with levity for his guide, I think, as far as the purposes of this life are to be answered, he does right not to quit his merry companion, especially as his levities have been chiefly in discourse. He has improved his fortune, and raised his situation more than often happens to the grave and wise.

"Miss More was so good as to pass a few days with me here. Your Grace knows her enough to be sensible she made those days very agreeable to me. With a great deal of genius she has no less good sense, and a most excellent heart, ever exerting itself in acts of charity and benevolence. She is now encouraging the publication of a most astonishing poetical work of a poor milk-woman at Bristol,* whose unassisted genius has produced lines which would do honour to Gray or any of our first poets.

"If your Grace has not yet read Bishop Atterbury's Letters, I think you have a great deal of amusement for the Christmas holidays, which I hear, to my sorrow, your Grace intends to pass in the country; but I cannot wonder that in such amiable society as Mrs. Delany and Miss Hamilton you should prefer the charming abode of Bullstrode with them to the world of sin and sea coal in London. I propose to be in town the 23rd of this month. I have taken the liberty to send your Grace a copy of some of the milk-woman's verses, addressed to Miss More. To understand

* Mrs. Ann Yearsley.

some part of them I must mention it alludes to her sad own story. Last winter she, her mother, six children, and her husband, in want of every necessary, retired to a stable, where they were found by a charitable person nearly expired; he fetched them food immediately, and all revived but the poor old woman, who held up her hands, blessed him and died; two of the children by cold and famine have lost their hearing. By contributions they are now possessed of two cows and twelve pigs; great riches, but as riches make themselves wings and fly away, we are now endeavouring to raise a subscription for her works, and as I have no great opinion of a genius being an economist, I shall wish to buy her a little annuity of 8*l.* or 10*l.* a year for her life. Miss More says the poor creature is harmless and laborious, and she gives some remarkable proofs of her honesty; but a very few days before she went into the stable she restored two silver spoons to the owner, which she had found by accident. She is very religious, and piety has raised her mind, as well as purified her heart. I have bestowed so much of my paper on the milk-woman's virtues and talents, I have not room left for a description of Mrs. Hastings' jewels, which bear a higher value at Bath; but at Bullstrode they would not, so I think I may be excused for what I have done, and yet I confess your Grace's fine museum does not contain anything so wonderful as a she-Nabob; the animal flower, or the electrical eel are not so much out of the common course of things."

Elizabeth Montagu to the Duchess of Portland.

[1783,] December 26. London.—"I am set down to wish your Grace a merry Christmas and a happy New Year, though we, who are in London, shall not have so joyous a Christmas, nor so happy a beginning of the new year as you who pass your holidays at Bullstrode. Though mortified and injured by this resolution, I cannot help confessing there is not any place which possesses greater charms at every season than Bullstrode, or any person who has in themselves* greater resources for gloomy weather and short days than its Lady; indeed, *the gay conscience of a life well spent* gives the only perpetual cheerfulness and unclouded sunshine. Mr. and Mrs. Vesey and Mrs. Hancock arrived in town on Friday. Mr. Vesey seems in perfect health and gay spirits. I cannot affirm the same of Mrs. Vesey, she looks thin and complains her hearing is impaired. It is pity it should be so, as she never listened with pleasure to the whispers of calumny, or the voice of detraction and envy, but with delight to the praises of those whom she esteemed deserving. However, the only truly lamentable deafness is that which oftener belongs to youth than age, turning a deaf ear to the advice of friends, and the precepts of wisdom and virtue.

"There is a new work come from France called 'L'Esprit de la Fronde': I have purchased, but have not yet begun it. I do not suppose there will be as much spirit and vivacity in this work as

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* *Sic.*

in the Mémoires of Cardinal de Retz, who seems to have been as much suited by nature for the historian of such a faction as he was for the leader of it. However, I shall be glad to see the picture of those transactions drawn by another hand. Never did any annals, or history of any kind, so strongly paint a national character as the history of La Fronde. About the same time we carried on a civil war in a very different style. The French put *de la gaieté* and *des graces* into a conspiracy, love intrigue into state policy, and the fierce goddess Bellona is *knit with the Graces and the Loves in dance*, a battle is followed by a ball, and an assassination by a masquerade or a concert. *Une chanson sur le Pont Neuf* consoles them under any military disgrace or political disappointment. *Toujours gai* is the national motto, and after all, as in this state of things it is not always possible to be both merry and wise, is it not best to be merry? Indeed, human life is so short, and made up of such trumpery, that there is not any solid foundation for grief or joy, but, that the good might not be ever without consolation, an unalterable pleasure results from the retrospect of their own actions, and imparts *what nothing earthly gives or can destroy, The soul's calm sunshine and the heart-felt joy*. On this firm foundation, with confidence as well [as] most affectionate zeal, I can venture to present my wishes of a happy New Year to your Grace.

"When I began my letter, which I had not time to finish, I told your Grace Mr. Vesey was in good health, but the other day, when he was to meet some of his friends here at dinner, I had a message to acquaint me he had just had a fit. However, it was a slight one, and when I called on Mrs. Vesey yesterday, I had the pleasure of hearing he was recovering fast, and her apprehensions were abated."

Elizabeth Montagu to the Duchess of Portland.

[1784], June 20. Sandleford.—"On receiving your Grace's kind and humane letter last night I felt very sensibly that a friend is the medicine of life. The interest you take in my affliction is a balm to it. As I would not do anything that might be a prejudice to Mrs. Alison* with the world, I shall not (except to my best and dearest friends) say more than that she married without my approbation, but to your Grace I will confess that the precipitation, with which she entered into an engagement with a man she had not known three months, much aggravated my grief. Last October twelve months she went to Edinburgh to visit her brother, who was then newly married; she promised to return to me about the meeting of Parliament, as she would then have opportunity of travelling with some of her friends, who would be coming to London on that occasion; but, instead of doing what she had promised, she made various

* Dorothea, daughter of Dr. John Gregory, of Edinburgh, had resided with Mrs. Montagu since her father's death in 1773. She married, 14 June, 1784, Archibald Alison, afterwards author of the "Essay on the Nature and Principles of Taste."

excuses and on the 6th of January she wrote me a long letter to tell me all her future happiness depended on my giving my consent to her marrying a Mr. Alison, who had not a shilling fortune, nor any preferment but a curacy at Durham. She accompanied this declaration with the most extravagant commendations of the man, and assurances of his being most deeply in love with her. Your Grace may believe I did not comply with her request. I told her that, though I had always had for her the tenderness of a mother, yet I could not pretend to parental authority, therefore my consent to her marriage was not necessary, but my approbation or countenance to such a marriage I never could give, my respect for the memory of her father, my duty to my own nephews and nieces, and to the world in general, forbad my giving my countenance to imprudent hasty engagements, ever heart-wounding to parents and friends, and too often unfortunate to the young persons who made them. I set before her the miseries attendant on poverty, and perhaps seeing a large posterity destitute of a provision. She had said in her letter she would not marry Mr. Alison till she had an 100*l.* a year in preferment, which she did not doubt but Mr. Dundas, then Lord Advocate, would soon procure him, and with that she should be perfectly happy. Indeed I hardly thought her in senses from the wildness and extravagance of her manner on receiving my remonstrance on the indiscretion of her matrimonial [project]: she fell into fits as young ladies often do when they cannot obtain consent to an improper marriage. Finding her both too impetuous and firm to be shaken in her project, the only hope to save her was from the calm counsels of time; therefore I told her, if she would return to me and remain with me till Mr. Alison had such preferment as she thought sufficient to marry upon, I would behave to her with my usual kindness, but she must never speak to me on a subject on which we could never agree. This condition was kept on both sides, and I also insisted she should neither see Mr. Alison nor correspond with [him]; all which she promised and, I believe, faithfully observed. But one day this spring she told me she found she could not live without corresponding with Mr. Alison and seeing [him] sometimes; upon which I set forth to her the imprudence of her engagement, on which she fell into hysteric, then fainting fits, and lay as it were dead for some minutes. I saw then she would marry immediately if I did not allow her to see him a few times, as he was then in London, and by this compliance I should retard her indiscreet marriage; so I consented. She even alleged her brother's desire to see her and also that of his dying wife, and she went, as your Grace knows, to Edinburgh. There she prevailed on a Mr. Nairne, a lawyer, who transacts business for Mr. Pulteney and is an old friend of his, to solicit a living of him for Mr. Alison. Mr. Pulteney complied with Mr. Nairne's request, and has bestowed a living of 150*l.* a year on Mr. Alison. Miss Gregory applied again for my consent, I answered as before, that I could not give any approbation, or countenance to the match, so she determined to quit all connection with me, and

married Mr. Alison. I heartily wish her visions of felicity may be realized. I had above a year ago got Mr. Smelt to endeavour to dissuade her from this scheme; he argued the case very seriously with her, but found all argument vain; he hoped, as I did, time might bring her to sober reflection. I never mentioned to any one but Mr. Smelt and Mrs. Smelt, who I knew had great weight with her, the rash step she had taken in making an engagement. I should with great joy have given very solid proofs of my approbation to any man of character and decent circumstances, for happiness does not attend on wealth; but misery dogs poverty at the heels. I am not myself convinced Mr. Alison's addresses to her did not proceed from a hope, that by the friends she had, she would be a better fortune, and procure him more preferment than he would otherwise obtain, for he did not even pretend to have any hopes of a living but through his interest with Mr. Dundas, then Lord Advocate of Scotland. Miss Gregory's behaviour had been so gentle, amiable, and discreet, and with such appearance of affection and attachment to me, that to see her sacrifice all prudent considerations of every kind, and all friendly connection with me, to a man she had not known 10 weeks has been a great affliction, and I believe what the learned faculty called the gout was the effect of great perturbation of mind, for which I ask pardon of the great Disposer of all events, and who has given me, in my nephew Montagu, everything my heart could wish. Mrs. Delany was the first person to whom I mentioned Miss Gregory's approaching nuptials, but had not opportunity to communicate the circumstances which I have written to your Grace, and which I would beg you to impart to her. I am afraid all I have written on this disagreeable subject will appear tiresome. I will now take up the subject that is the most pleasant and excellent, viz. the Smelts. Yesterday sennight they left the regal bowers of Windsor to visit my cottage. It was doubly charitable to visit me at this time; they made us very happy till Saturday, when they went to Oxford in their road to the north. I was pleased to see my nephew was as unwilling to part with them as I was. We have been alone ever since, but are in hopes of seeing Dr. Beattie and his young Edwin here very soon. The Primate of Ireland * is just arrived at Bath. When he has taken about 3 weeks of the waters, I flatter myself he will pass some time at Sandleford. There is some degree of presumption in this hope, for betwixt old rooms demolished and new ones not finished enough for habitation my house is in a most horrible condition; the birds and the squirrels are much better accommodated. The pleasure-grounds and woods have been much improved and beautified by the late Mr. Brown, but a distress has arisen to-day, even from what usually produces great pleasure. The person under whose direction Mr. Brown's plan is going forward, has for some time given indications of madness, and yesterday, while he was ordering the workmen how to apply their spades, he fell on his knees and muttered prayers; he is now

* Mrs. Montagu's kinsman Richard Robinson first Baron Rokeby of Armagh.

so wild I know not what to do with him. I am going to write to Mr. Lupidge, who is to finish [what] Mr. Brown began, to come with all speed to take care of this poor creature; in the meantime I dare not walk about the grounds. I feel myself in a very improper state for a correspondent. I know your Grace will pardon the freedom I have taken in opening my heart to you. My most affectionate respects attend Mrs. Delany. I cannot express how much we all regretted that we were not at home when she did us the honour to call in Portman Square. I wish she had intimated her kind intentions, and then we should have preferred even half an hour of her conversation to any pleasure the Town could have offered us. Montagu solicits the honour of presenting his humble respects to your Grace and Mrs. Delany."

Elizabeth Montagu to the Duchess of Portland.

[1784,] July 12. Sandleford.—"Your Grace's kind solicitude for me on account of the poor lunatic makes my present security from him appear of higher value; nothing makes life so precious to one as finding the persons one most esteems and loves interest themselves in its perservation. The history of the poor madman is a very extraordinary one; he began his career of life very ill, a hard drinker, a great boxer, and in short was addicted to every vice which comes into the character of a low and vulgar libertine; but 17 years ago he went mad and was confined for some time; he recovered his reason, and may properly be said to have been since in his sober senses. He left off all his bad habits, drank nothing stronger than small beer, worked in pleasure-grounds under the direction of Mr. Brown, and was placed by him to superintend the making a piece of water and the other works going forward here; and I was much pleased with his diligence and attention and great integrity. There was a wildness in his look, and some singularities, which we attributed to his former illness, but did not apprehend a return of it till lately. I wrote to the person who has the carrying on what Mr. Brown planned for the improvements here, to acquaint him with my apprehensions, and to desire he would take the poor man to London, and I would get him into St. Luke's or Bedlam. I hoped that my lunatic would have willingly accompanied his old friend, this Mr. Lupidge, to London, for we wished to avoid any violence, as he would some hours in the day appear calm and rational. Mr. Lupidge came hither as soon as he could leave the Duke of Devonshire's at Chiswick, where he was employed, and all matters were prepared to carry our lunatic away on Thursday morning; but before the hour intended he knocked down the man who attended him, and ran out of the house where he lodged, and knocked down a man who endeavoured to stop his flight. When these men recovered the blow, the impression of horror still remained, and they durst not follow him till they had collected other assistance, so lost sight of him; and though we have sent people to every neighbouring town, village, and cottage, [we] cannot get any material intelligence, and I am under great apprehensions that it will be difficult

to find him, for in his religious enthusiasm he fancies he must atone for his past offences by living like Nebuchadnezzar, and it has been difficult to persuade him to sleep in a house, and he has endeavoured to eat grass. I am very unhappy about this poor creature's being exposed to every danger and distress, but hope I am not very blameable, as I had committed him to the charge of his master Lupidge, by whom he was employed to direct the workmen and to pay them weekly.

"I have tired your Grace with this long history, for I feared you would be shocked to hear I had been so negligent of a poor wretch as to let him run away. I believe Mr. Lupidge had indiscreetly talked to the persons where he lodged of an intention to carry him to London to be taken care of, and these unfortunate persons dread confinement.

"Dr. Beattie writes me word he cannot leave London at present, and as I expect the Primate of Ireland, Sir Wm. Robinson, and Mr. John Freind next week, my house will then be full, so the doctor will go first to the Bishop of Chester's.

"The means I am taking to enlarge my house in future makes it less for the present; old rooms are pulled down, and the new ones are not yet fit for habitation. It is just now in the most terrible condition, but I flatter myself time will make it such, that I may entertain an ambitious hope that the Duchess of Portland may honour it with her presence: such a hope will make me endure with patience, nay, hear with pleasure, the rumbling of the carts which are bringing bricks, the strokes of the spade, and the squeaking of wheelbarrows, and all the horrid sights, and horrid sounds, masons, bricklayers, carpenters, &c., present to the eye and ear. I have not heard of Mr. and Mrs. Smelt since they left Sandleford, which makes me a little uneasy, as they had promised to write while on the road. I have a flattering vision, a pleasing hope, that they will come to Portman Square next January, time enough to pay their devoirs on his Majesty's birthday."

Elizabeth Montagu to the Duchess of Portland.

[1785, April?] 17. Ealing.—"I had the honour of your Grace's obliging card just as I was setting out for Ealing, to which I retreated on my housekeeper being ill of the smallpox, that I might avoid any infection from the imprudence of servants, who are apt to visit, in spite of all injunctions, a fellow servant in that distemper. And as I find the famous operator, Mr. Sutton, has just now inoculated at an easy wholesale price half the common people in town, and then ordered them to run about the streets, I think it will be more prudent for me to avoid coming out of a fresh into an infected air; and as I am to go to Sandleford in a few days, I have determined to forbear coming to town till this spring diversion of inoculation is a little over. I hope, therefore, your Grace will excuse my not doing myself the honour to wait on you on Sunday, which is indeed a great mortification to me. I am not totally indifferent to the amusements of London, but when Whitehall

presents itself to my imagination, then the town appears most delightful, and the primroses and violets lose their sweetness in my estimation. I have the pleasure of talking of the Duchess of Portland with Mr. Botham, who has experienced her goodness. The poor man has got a gout that would better become the velvet cushion of a dean, but he hopes to be well enough to stand in the pulpit on Sunday. Had the malady been in his finger or thumb, I flatter myself I could have written as orthodox a sermon as the vicar himself; indeed I have often offered my service to do so, but he chooses to edify his parish his own way. I believe my sermon would be more lively, his more solid. I have the comfort to find Miss Botham in better health than when she was with me at Sandleford. I feel so much interested for all these poor girls I am afraid of dreaming at night that I am a parson's wife with five children; a horrible vision it would be, and I imagine I should start in my sleep if it presented itself to me. Indeed, my dear Lady Duchess, I cannot express to you how much I regret losing the agreeable day I might pass at Whitehall, a day that would be so pleasing while it was present, and rendered more delightful by the recollection of those past and gone. However from the happy faculty of memory I shall retain a sense of the honour and happiness I have enjoyed in your Grace's friendship."

Elizabeth Montagu to the Duchess of Portland.

[1785,] July. Portman Square.—"It is impossible for me to describe the anguish I felt last night on hearing your Grace had been ill of a fever; happy for me I did not hear it till I was also informed that you were recovering of it. I went into Berkshire the 13th of May, and staid till the 30th of June. On that day I came to Mrs. Garrick's at Hampton. I came to London yesterday morning, and spent the evening with Mrs. Vesey, when to my infinite concern I heard of your Grace's illness. I beg to know how you are to-day. I am going back to Hampton this evening, but shall return to London in two or three days to sign my nephew's marriage-settlement, an operation I had hoped would have been over long before this time, but the lawyers are not of Hudibras's opinion *that brevity is very good, in things that are or are not understood.* 50 skins of parchment and 50 forms of law were to be used on the occasion. In the mean time the lover languished, and the aunt waited, and neither of us knew how long the gentlemen of the robe would keep us in that state, and as London disagrees with my health at this season of the year, I remained at Sandleford in perfect ignorance of what was passing in the world till last night that I was at my dear Mrs. Vesey's. Oh, Madam! how unworthy was Mr. Vesey of so good a woman!"

APPENDIX.

(MISCELLANEOUS AND UNDATED CORRESPONDENCE.)

Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough to [Robert Harley].

[1708?] August 27. Sunday.—"I have told my sister* why the pass must be in her name, which she likes as well as any, since you will do her the favour to order it so as to give her no uneasiness to travel in her private way.

"I forgot to speak to you for some letters out of Ireland to her, taken in Mr. Arthur's papers; she says they are only concerning her own affairs, and if they are from one of my nieces, I know that one must be a mother to give so much time as is necessary to read it, but I don't say this to prevent anybody's trying: that you will order, and when that is done, if you please to send them to Mr. Guydott, he will give them to my sister.

"I write this with less scruple than ordinary because I am going out of town, and though you should have the goodness to intend me an answer, I shall not be in the way of receiving it." (Vol. iv. f. 206.)

The Duke of Shrewsbury to Robert Harley.

[1711, April 24]. Thursday—"The bill about the resumption being to be read this morning it will be thought strange if I should be absent, and therefore cannot receive your favour this morning. In the afternoon this is so public a day at my house that it will be inconvenient to see you here, but if you will allow me to wait on you either at six, seven or eight this afternoon, I shall not fail to come to you, and send a servant on purpose to bring me a verbal answer." (Vol. vi. f. 51.)

The Duke of Shrewsbury to Robert Harley.

[1711, Spring?] Wednesday.—"Since you have excused my disappointing you last night, and allow me to name any time after to-day, I will not fail waiting on you at your house to-morrow at half an hour past eight in the evening, if I hear nothing from you to the contrary.

"I hear from many hands that something extraordinary is designed but cannot learn what; I hope the Queen has notice, and that she will to some of her leading ministers and servants speak in a manner, that if they know what is designed, she expects to be let into the secret, and if they do not, that they should oppose all motions that may raise heat and create divisions, but go on with the public business and finish the supplies, that our

* Lady Tyrconnell.

friends and enemies abroad may not discover that we are so much in need of peace at home, since such a thought would certainly prevent our having it abroad. If in any particular I can be of use to you, be pleased to let me know it, who am perfectly disposed to serve to the best of my power." (*Ib.* f. 46.)

The Duke of Shrewsbury to Robert Harley.

[1711, Spring?] Wednesday night.—"I have discoursed with the Queen upon the subject of your letter; she is convinced of the reasonableness of your arguments, but knows not how to prevail with a certain person to give way to them, and thinks, if she should resolve positively to refuse his demands, that it would be an absolute breach. There will be more time to consider of this particular. The pain her Majesty has been in has hindered her writing to-night, and I was unwilling to talk too long and too much to her on a subject which gave her disquiet at the same time her disease was troublesome likewise.

I confess I think myself under some hardship to have made such promises to Mr. Sm.* and not be enabled to perform them unless by expectation, but provided the public service do not suffer, and we by our unsteadiness are not made a jest, I will submit readily.

"Her Majesty desires you to be here to-morrow night before nine.

"I am every day more and more convinced that something of what I said to Mr. St. John must be resolved; we must have somebody among us who, if they are positive, will be it, with better sense and more uniform to the main design than that which governs and will embroil everthing.

"I have time to say no more, but confess I think the step going to be made with relation to Mr. S. a very unlucky one.

"Surely this letter of Petcum's should be both prosecuted and answered, if it were only to show it is not a true one, as it is believed by some ignorant people in the country." (*Ib.* f. 47.)

The Duke of Shrewsbury to the [Earl of Oxford].

[1711, November?] Wednesday night.—"My indisposition, God be thanked, has ended in a short fit of the gout. I waited on the Queen this evening to give her joy of the compliance Holland has shown. I perfectly agree that should be returned by a confidence on our side, and what your Lordship proposes to be said to M. Buys † is very right, and nobody so proper upon all accounts to speak to him as yourself, who are best able to explain to him our Articles relating to the Assiento and the Commerce, so as to take away their objections; and if those were once over, we should have nothing more to do but treat unitedly and like friends to get the best barrier we can for Holland, and the best terms can be got for the rest of the Allies.

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* Perhaps the late Speaker Smith, afterwards one of the Tellers of the Exchequer.

† *Cf.* Report on Portland MSS. vii. 71.

"I hinted to her Majesty to-night that I wished she were soon in London. There is no probability that her health will permit her to take any benefit of the country air before she will be forced to to come to London; and in this very busy time between the affairs of the Parliament and the peace this small distance from London loses too much time.

"I hope the North Britain Lords will come in time and good humour; some of their own countrymen seem to doubt of both, but I hope that is only because they are not so necessary as they would be. I have writ to Lord Cardigan, who designed not to come yet; I hope I shall prevail with him.

"I heartily rejoice that your Lordship finds yourself better, and has thoughts of going abroad, but earnestly recommend to you not to venture too soon and to be careful when you do. It is so obvious what would be the consequence of your ill health that I will not offend your modesty to enlarge upon it, but remember a line in Spenser on the death of Sir Philip Sidney—"Great loss to all, but greatest loss to me." (*Ib.* f. 71.)

The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Oxford.

1712, September 19. Friday morning.—"The Queen has rested so well to-night that I hope her indisposition is over, which I believe was occasioned by a cold she got taking the air last Tuesday in her chaise, whilst the sun was warm, but the wind easterly and so sharp, that at the same time it was very hot or very cold as her Majesty turned her face to or from the wind. I am glad Lord Rivers has at last taken so good a resolution; I suppose it will ease us of a good deal of trouble. I shall be ready any time next week to attend your Lordship's commands about the jewels." (*Ib.* f. 80.)

An Inventory of Margaret Cavendishe, Duchess of Portland's weding cloaths and linen, July 11th, 1734.

1 Gown and petticoat of white Padusoy richly imbroidred with gold and all coulers.

1 Gown and petticoat of pink armeseen, both gown and petticoat quite covered all over with a rich silver triming mixed with coulered flowers.

1 Gown and petticoat, white and silver lutestring.

1 Gown and petticoat of white lutestring, clouded with pink and brown.

1 Gown and petticoat of blue lutestring.

1 Gown and petticoat of green damask.

1 Night gown of white lutestring, imbroidered all over the faceing and robings with silver and purple.

1 Night gown of gold lutestring, with coulours.

1 Night gown of pink damask.

1 Night gown of yellow lutestring.

1 White sattin wraper.

2 Fine calico quilted bed gowns.

1 White satten quilted petticoat with a silver triming round the bottom.
3 White fine callico quilted petticoats to ware over the Hoop.
3 White dimity under petticoats.
4 Flanell petticoats.
1 Hoop of white lutestring.
1 Brown Alapine habit laced with silver.
1 Couloured quilted petticoat to wear with the habit.
1 Drab cloath great coat.
1 Pair of shoes, white satten, braded with gold and open lace up them.
1 Pair of shoes of silver tishue braded with silver, lace of silver up them.
1 Pair of shoes of blue satten, braded with the same coulour.
1 Pair of shoes of green satten, braded with the same coulour.
1 Pair of slipers of silver and an open lace up them and a deep fringe round.
1 Pair of cloges of blue velvet.
2 Colmar fans.
2 Pair of gold loopings for gloves.
1 Pair of silver loopings for gloves.
1 Pair of pink and silver loopings for gloves.
1 Gold girdle, 1 Silver girdle.
2 Pair of stays, 2 Pair of locks.

Laces and Linen.

1 Very fine point head and 3 double ruffles and tucker.
1 Very fine loopt Brusells head and three double ruffles, and tucker of half breadth lace and tippet.
1 Suit of dressed night close, the lappets all lace of fine Brusells lace and three double ruffles and tucker half breadth lace and a neck handkercheif.
1 Suit of drest night close of very fine loopt Mackleen half breadth lace, double ruffles and tucker and neck handkercheif.
1 Suit of dressed night close of fine loopt Brusells lace, double ruffles and tucker and neck handkerchief.
1 Mob, double ruffles and tucker, and hood, all lace round with a fine Brusells lace.
1 Mob, double ruffles and tucker and hood and double neck handkercheif, all laced round with a loopt Mackleen lace with a great deal of basket work in the lace.
1 Mob, double ruffles, tucker, and short hood, all laced round with a loopt lace with a litle basket work in the lace.
1 Mob, double ruffles, tucker, short hood and double neck handkercheif of spotted lawn, all laced round with a very fine Mackleen lace.
1 Mob, double ruffles, tucker, laced round with a ground Mackleen lace.
1 Mob, double ruffles, tucker, laced round with a Mackleen lace, all pattern, no ground.
1 Double mob and double ruffles and tucker, all laced round with a Brusells lace.

1 Double mob and double ruffles and tucker, laced all round with a ground Mackleen lace, the pattern oak leaves.
1 Double mob and double ruffles, tucker, laced all round with a fine loopt lace.
6 Pair of double ruffles, laced.
6 Laced tuckers.
8 Pair of double ruffles of plain cambrick.
6 Pair of single ruffles of plain cambrick.
14 Tuckers of plain cambrick.
6 Night caps, laced round.
6 Under night caps, laced round.
4 Workt muslin neck handkercheifs and one plaine one.
30 Pocket handkercheifs.
1 Cambrick apron, laced round with a very fine Brusells lace.
1 Spotted lawn apron, laced round with a fine Mackleen lace.
1 Flowered lawn apron.
1 Spotted cambrick apron.
1 Fine callico apron, workt round in a border in the Indian way.
6 Fine Holland aprons.
6 Fine cambrick aprons.
2 Combing cloaths.
4 Pair of dimity pockets.
2 Laced riding shirts.
5 Quilted dressing caps.
14 Pair of white threed stockings.
2 Pair of scarlet stockings.
1 Pair of white silk stockings with imbroidered clocks.
28 Day shifts. (Vol. x. f. 185.)

Elizabeth Elstob to the Duchess of Portland.

1738, December 27. Bath. –"The great honour and happiness and the salary your Grace has so generously vouchsafed to confer and bestow upon me, so long before I can have an opportunity of endeavouring to deserve them, commands infinitely greater and more worthy acknowledgments than I am able to offer. And though I am truly sensible I am guilty of great presumption in thus addressing myself to your Grace, yet my indispensable duty will not suffer me to be silent, but compels me most humbly to beseech you, Madam, to accept of the thanks of a heart sincerely grateful, and to be assured that I most earnestly beg the Divine assistance to enable me to perform my duty as I ought, and having that, I hope I need not fear being acceptable to your Grace. I must likewise entreat you, Madam, to believe it shall be my constant and daily practice fervently to beseech Almighty God to pour down the choicest of His blessings on your incomparable self and your whole most noble family, and that He, who has endowed you with so many excellent perfections, will add to them length of days, that you may long be a glorious pattern and example to your sex." (Vol. xiv. f. 86.)

The Earl of Orford to [Charles, third Viscount Townshend?].

1743, July 24. Houghton.—"I have now writ to Capt. Jackson, to give Lord Tyrawly a ticket as you desired, and am glad to oblige him with it. This place affords no news, no subject of amusement or entertainment, for fine gentlemen of wit and pleasure about town understand not the language nor taste the charms of the inanimate world. My flatterers here are all mutes; the oaks, the beeches, the chesnuts seem to contend who shall please the lord of the manor; they cannot deceive, they will not lie. I sincerely admire them, and I have as many beauties about me as fill up all my hours of dangling; and no disgrace attends me from 67 years of age.

"Within doors we come a little nearer to real life, and admire upon the almost speaking canvas all the airs and graces which the proudest of the town ladies can boast of. With these I am satisfied, because they gratify me with all I wish, and all I want; I expect nothing in return which I cannot give. If these, dear Charles, are any temptations, I heartily invite you to come and partake of them. Shifting the scene has sometimes its recommendation; and from country fare you may possibly return, with a better appetite, to the more delicate entertainments of a refined life.

"Since I wrote the above, we have been surprised with good news from abroad. Too much cannot be said upon it, for it is truly matter of infinite joy, because it is of infinite consequence." *Copy.* (Vol. xvi. f. 303.)

William Murray to the Duchess of Portland.

1745, June 18.—"Few things can give me so much real pleasure as an opportunity of doing what is in any respect agreeable to your Grace, and therefore, if the case you recommend should exist, I shall think myself very happy in an occasion of contributing the utmost of my power to what you wish. I think you conclude too hastily from the D[uke] of N[ewcastle]'s silence. Nothing is now open, and he might be afraid of taking the thing wholly upon himself beforehand, under the present incertainty of his being able to make such an undertaking good without much difficulty. If I was the Doctor, under your protection I would not despair of Windsor, at least not in prose, whatever I did in verse when the night inspired melancholy thoughts. I return the enclosed with many thanks. I never saw the spirit and diction and simplicity of an original better kept up in a translation. I wish your Grace a good journey and an agreeable summer." (Vol. xiv. f. 92.)

Lord Mansfield to the Duchess of Portland.

1757, November 30.—"The French have insisted that Count Poniatowski should be recalled from Petersburgh, which may hasten the sending Keith, and the orders may be sudden. I took therefore the resolution of speaking to him to-day, first by way

of asking his advice upon the general plan, which he said a great deal for under all the circumstances. So far his opinion confirms our ideas. I then mentioned to him the carrying Lord Tichfield. He very readily undertook to do everything in his power to make it agreable to Lord Tichfield. He is not to say a syllable of it. He proposes going to Hamburgh in a man-of-war. He applauds his taking but one servant with him. As to all voitures he don't think of any till he come to Hamburgh. I have in secrecy talked to Czartoryski upon it. He advises it very much upon the single point of Lord Stormont. As to the rest he will put Lord Tichfield into the hands of his sister, and give her very particular instructions. From some letters of hers which he has shewn me, she appears to have all the parts and good sense of her family. But though Keith's departure may be soon, it likewise may not. In the meantime the secret will be absolutely kept. I have asked Keith to dine with me next Friday, and I wish Lord Tichfield would meet him. This is properly a note to Lord Tichfield, though I address it to your Grace." (*Ib.* f. 97.)

Extract of a Letter from Naples.

1760, December 24. Naples.—"Last Tuesday morning, as I was sitting in my chamber about half an hour after eleven, on a sudden the servants of the house came running into my room, the windows of which command a most noble prospect of Mount Vesuvius and all the circular shores and islands of the Bay of Naples. If I could draw like ——I would send you on this paper a view of this mountain; but as it is, must desire you to help me out by imagining to yourself a mountain higher in itself than most either in England or Wales, but at that time greatly increased in its stature by a dreadful Prussian grenadier's cap of most black smoke, which at that time rose suddenly from its head to the height of many hundred yards perpendicular up to the highest regions of the air. The morning till that instant had been most pleasant and the mountain most quiet and serene. Five minutes after another vast cloud, not indeed black as that on the mountain-top, but rather whitish, burst from the plains about four miles from the mountain, near the sea coast, and about five miles from Herculaneum. In a quarter of an hour the whole horizon from the point of Vesuvius to Caprea, which is said to be farther than from Dover to Calais, was covered (as it continues to this hour, Thursday, one o'clock in the afternoon) in a thick fog, in one part mixed with great surges of flame continually rising and falling. I had liked to have seen this phænomenon to a greater advantage or rather disadvantage, for that very morning Mr. L—— and Mr. F—— (with whom I have had the pleasure of seeing most of the curiosities near Naples) had set out to see the top of Vesuvius, and I should probably have been of the party, if I had not been apprehensive of the great fatigue of so long a walk. When they had reached the Hermit's house, which is a considerable way up Vesuvius (what a situation for a man to choose for his residence during life!) they were informed by him that the last night there

had been a considerable earthquake there, his cottage having shook with it, which to him (who had so studied the mountain) was a plain indication that there would be a considerable eruption within two or three days. From this cottage they proceeded with many weary steps up towards the summit, within 50 paces of which they arrived at half an hour after eleven, when they were surprised with a sudden discharge of ten thousand subterranean cannon under their feet, the ground shaking and pouring forth smoke on all sides with hot water and some red-hot stones. After having contemplated this unexpected scene for some minutes (for all their guides but one had deserted them in the smoke) they began to make as expeditious a retreat as they could in sliding down the sandy side of the mountain, which roared and rocked under them, and now and then not without terror casting up their eyes to that dreadful pitchy cloud which thundered over their heads; nor was it without the greatest fatigue and some bruises that they arrived safe at Naples in the afternoon. By that time news was arrived here of the other much worse particulars of this eruption. All the eruptions before this have been on the point or in some high part of the sides of this tremendous mountain; but the scene of the greatest danger is at present totally changed. About four or five miles distant from the summit of it and about fourteen from Naples, in the middle of a fine plain thick set with large vineyards and farm-houses, this eruption of a sudden broke out, and that immediately under the floor of one of the houses. What is become of that house I need not tell you: the place of it and of seventeen other scattered houses with a palazzo of Signor Corti, and a tract of land of thirty vineyards, is not to be found now. The whole space is taken up by a fiery river, or rather lake, of five miles in length and near two in breadth, rising at one end from thirteen fiery sources and slowly rolling itself, not without great noise, towards the sea, which it is now very nearly arrived at. Sir James Gray, who has been the British Minister here for several years, has never seen before such a spectacle. But how would you have been afflicted with it, and with all the cries, lamentations and desolation of the poor inhabitants. What is surprising, we do not as yet hear of one life being lost, and all danger of further eruptions is now judged to be passed. What is still more surprising, the fiery inundation (or lava, as it is called here) is at present become an object not so much of terror as curiosity. I attended Mr. T. F—— and some other English to the banks of this Cocytus or Phlegethon last night [Dec. 24]. We set out from hence as it grew dark, and in about three hours (through crowded roads) reached it. As we approached, the view was exactly like what the design generally is of the print before the first book of Paradise Lost; but the appearance was totally different as we came nearer. We ventured not indeed to the mouth of the volcano, but left it above two miles on our left; we saw, however, sufficient of its smoke and flames, and heard enough of its thunder. You cannot imagine a more dreadful spectacle than the quantities of ignited stones which were continually casting up from it like the flying in the air of red-hot bombs in a

siege. The sight of it, even at the distance of Naples from it (which is ten long miles) is even still more terrible (I write this after sunset the night after Christmas Day). The vast *jets d'eau* of red fire blaze across the Bay of Naples, and by the reflexion of the sea form the most infernal night-prospect; no *jet d'eau* ever cast itself up to half the height. What is scarce credible, a person near the volcano counted four hundred between the time of a great fiery stone being projected to its fall again; its roarings are heard most distinctly even here: such is this new volcano. As for the fiery river that flows from it, it bears very improperly that name, we approached within ten or twenty yards, and might have gone up close to it, as we saw several persons, without the least danger, but we saw not the least mark of anything liquid. Imagine an immense mass of solid burning materials above two thousand yards in breadth and full eight thousand in length, and in height not quite twenty feet; its surface and sides appear fiery only in the night; by day it is covered with dust and smoke; this mass is continually protruded on by an unaccountable power; its motion, indeed, is most slow, scarce now advancing six feet in an hour, but still irresistible, beating down houses, walls etc. The place where we saw it was where it has rolled across the road leading from Calabria to Naples, one of the greatest roads in this kingdom; this road is walled on each side, and thick set with houses and gardens, but the road is now absolutely lost under this vast fiery bank, which is heaped up across it three or four feet higher than the walls, which are about fourteen feet high on each side of the road, and indeed without anything like banks to support its immense weight; consequently its fiery materials are continually falling down from its sides, which discover the flames within, and with the crashing of walls and other edifices that fall before it form a continued most horrid roar. Is there not part of the music in 'Sampson' that expresses something of this kind? But the most horrid scene is that part of the country where this fiery bank has rolled through some woods; the heat having dried all the neighbouring trees, they are continually catching fire one after another, and with the rising of their flames and sound of their fall add perpetually something of fresh terror even to such a scene as this. Indeed I know not how to say I wish you here: we had three small earthquakes the night before last, and know not what will happen when this vast rolling fiery mass shall have reached the sea. It was expected to have fallen into the sea last night, and that very near the place where Pliny's fleet anchored in the first most dreadful eruption in the time of Titus—pray turn to Pliny's Epistles and read the description of it: it is, as you know, in the letter to Tacitus. But I cannot go on; the volcano roars and flames still more terrible, and the summit of the mountain is beginning now to flash with flames of the swiftest whitest lightning.—I take up the pen again, the flames being greatly abated. The Neapolitans, who are used to such spectacles, are very much pleased, as they say, with every eruption, as they think it prevents something much worse. Besides, they say that for one acre of ground which it destroys it fertilizes an hundred. But these observations, though

true I believe, are never made before the fury of the volcano is past. This eruption, however, as we find again this day, is not past; the mountain has been roaring with its subterranean thunder all this day (Dec. 26), and all the windows of the houses throughout Naples have a fresh shock almost every moment. It grows more violent this evening, and gives the more apprehension as all the flames on the mountain or plain are now almost extinguished (6 o'clock in the afternoon), which makes us fear that the eruption is choked up, and struggling for a fresh vent. It resembles exactly the distant discharge of minute guns. The houses shake as those at Westminster on firing the Park guns, excepting only that the discharge of this subterranean artillery is more frequent, above three times each minute. The Solfatara, too, which lies as far from Naples on one side as this eruption does on the other, begins to show marks of its being disturbed with it; all its waters almost boil. December 27.—Excuse me for continuing this black journal; to-day, indeed, the mountain is quiet after a very rough night; orders, however, are given from Court for the cessation of all diversions; opera houses, etc., to be shut for the space of nine days; processions, etc., ordered. A thick cloud of white smoke still hangs over one whole side of the great Bay of Naples. Just now we hear that another mouth is burst open near the new volcano, but everything here is quiet. I hope we shall not have such a night as last night: for many hours the roar and shocks were almost uninterrupted. There has not been such an eruption since the year '37. The prayers of the inhabitants seem to have prevailed, and instead of tending towards the sea the fiery deluge spreads itself over the plain only; several new hills have been cast up by it, of some hundred feet in height; we hope it is now all over. December 28-29.—Being the seventh day of the eruption, all quiet except only that the summit of Vesuvius begins now to cast out some flames and vollies of red-hot stones in a greater degree than it has for some time. The new volcano on the plain is greatly abated. This night both mountain and plain are quiet."

"December 30.—I cannot send you this letter without taking notice to you that there is no danger at present here at Naples, the new volcano being full fourteen miles distant." (Vol. xviii. ff. 183-8.)

Alexander Murray to the Duchess of Portland.

1770, June 13.—"Lord Rockingham called yesterday twice on Lord Mansfield, and found him at night. The business was from the Duke of Portland, who had come to town that morning to speak to him, for Lord Rockingham the day before had dined at Kenwood, and then knew nothing; it was in consequence of your Grace's letter an earnest solicitation to Lord Mansfield to accept of the mediation. Lord Mansfield told him that he had heard from your Grace, and that he had seen the letter to you and your answer, but that for many reasons he had absolutely excused himself from being a referee between you. But in the course of

the conversation he said he had a strong desire to do every service of friendship to your Grace and the Duke of Portland, and would have no objection to see the Duke of Portland and him, the Marquess, and consider with them what might be just and fair and honourable for the Duke to do or wish; that he should have no difficulty in saying to them where he thought him in the wrong and why, because, if he should not be convinced, there was no hurt done, but that he should have great difficulty in telling your Grace how much he was in the wrong. This was accepted with great joy and as what the Marquess thought would be very agreeable to the Duke. We entered a little into the business, and the Marquess agreed strongly that all past accounts must be immediately settled. Lord Mansfield hopes that great good may arise from this, and that it cannot possibly do any hurt; he said that he took for granted your Grace had informed the the Duke of his having declined the reference." (Vol. xiv. f. 115.)

James Beattie to the Duchess Dowager of Portland.

1773, August 7. Arno's Grove.—"Your Grace's letter came to hand yesterday; but the post was gone out for London before I received it. The concern you are pleased to take in my affairs does me the greatest honour, and demands from me the warmest sentiments of gratitude, in which I hope I shall never be deficient. Of all the anxieties with which this long delay has been attended, none has given me greater concern than that it has put it out of my power to pay my respects to your Grace at Bullstrode so soon as I intended. I am afraid I must now give up all thoughts of availing myself of your kind invitation till after your return from Weymouth. My affairs are still in suspense, and I know not how long they may continue so: though I do expect every day to receive some intelligence in regard to their final determination. I had a letter from Lord Dartmouth about ten days ago, informing me that in a very few days they would be concluded, and that, if I should after that have occasion for information or advice, the proper person to apply to would be Mr. Robinson, Secretary of the Treasury. From this and from other circumstances I would flatter myself that I have reason to expect a favourable conclusion at last: but this delay, which none of my friends can account for, bears very hard upon me, and by the anxieties, which it is not possible for me to guard against, has greatly impaired my health, as well as Mrs. Beattie's. Mrs. Montagu writes me that she intends to go to Tunbridge next week, as her health for some time past has been very indifferent. She has the goodness to ask Mrs. Beattie and me to go along with her; which would certainly be of very great consequence to us both; for our complaints arise chiefly from stomach-disorders, which the waters of that place are said to be very effectual in removing. But whether it will be in our power to accomplish this, we cannot as yet determine. I intend to go to town on Tuesday next, and endeavour, if possible, to procure access to some of the people in

power (for Lord Dartmouth, I hear, is gone into Staffordshire), and I would fain hope I shall be able either to prevail with them to bring my business to a conclusion, or to obtain their permission to go for a week or two to Tunbridge for the recovery of my health. As soon as any change happens in my affairs or situation, I will do myself the honour to inform your Grace of it. Mrs. Beattie joins me in offering most respectful compliments to your Grace and to Mrs. Delany." (*Ib.* f. 128.)

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